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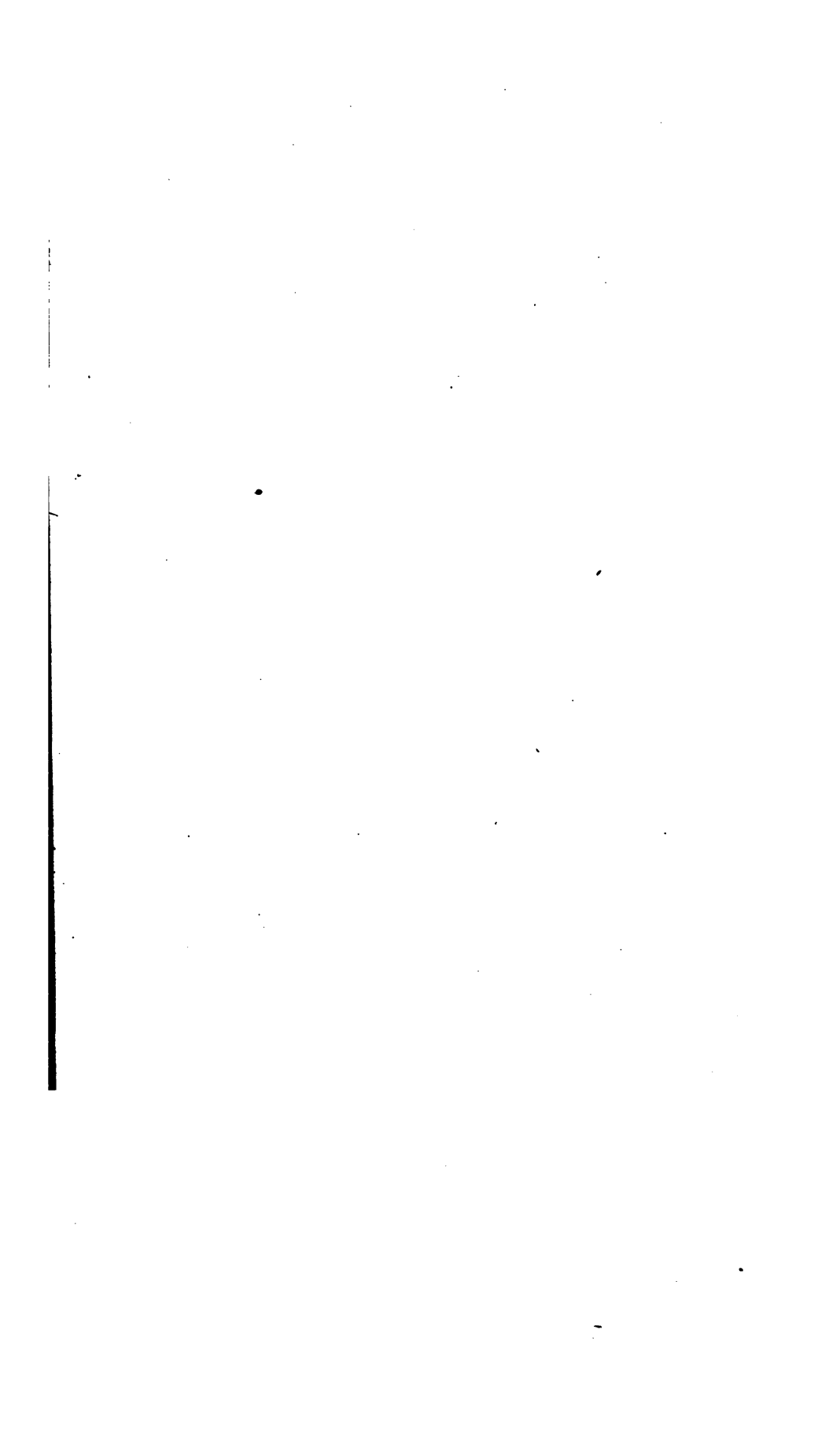


LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY









YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XXX

THE LANGUAGE OF THE  
NORTHUMBRIAN GLOSS

TO THE

GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE

BY

MARGARET DUTTON KELLUM

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE  
SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



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## PART I

# PHONOLOGY

### A. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM-SYLLABLES

#### CHAPTER I. SHORT VOWELS

##### a.

§ 1. I. In the Lindisfarne Gospel of Luke, *a* in originally closed syllables normally appears as *æ* (S. 49).

(a) Examples of *æ* before simple consonants, or those doubled only by the scribe, occur in 1 and 3 sing. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: *bæd* 5. 12, *bæd* 7. 3, *gebræc* 9. 16, *gebær* 1. 24, *cuæð* 14. 25, *agæf* 9. 42, *ongæt* 5. 22, *gelæg* 5. 25, *eftsæt* 7. 15, *spræc* 9. 11; in the pret. of the root, *wes*: *wæs* 2. 2, &c.; in the pret.-pres. vb., *maga*: *mæg* 10. 25, 14. 20; in the imper. of st. vbs. Cl. VI: *wræc* 18. 3, *fær* 13. 31 (this form always appears in the imper. in North., as opposed to the WS. *far*, cf. Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 90; S. 49, anm. 2; 368, anm. 2). Other examples: *æt* I 9. 8, *ætt* 10. 39, *æf* (*dæl*) 19. 37, *æfgroefa* 12. 58, *æf* (*sægeð*) I 8. 5, *bæc* I 6. 14, *bæcc* 17. 31, *dæg* 1. 80, *lehtfæt* 8. 16, *fær* (subst.) 10. 33, *tofær* 9. 31, *gætt* 13. 24, *glæd* 23. 8, *huæd* 10. 35, *huæs* 12. 40, *huæt* 8. 9, *pæð* 16. 26, *ðæs* 11. 29, *ðæt* 5. 6 (usually, however, represented by *þ*).

The retention of *a* in *ac* (*ah*) I 6. 18, and *was* 22. 59, may be due to the weak accent (S. 49, anm. 1; EB. 454).

(b) Examples of *æ* before consonant groups are: *æfter* 17. 30, *cræfte* I 2. 1, *dærsto* I 8. 16 (cf. § 19, I), *færwitfulla* 12. 26 (besides *feruitgiornis* I 3. 9, cf. (c) below), *fæstlice*

7. 49, gefrægn I 9. 16, gefraegn 9. 18 (besides gefraign 8. 30, v. § 14), ongægn I 9. 16 (for the possibility of this æ being due to i-umlaut, cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 9, anm. 2; 66), gærs 12. 28 (for the absence of breaking, v. § 19, I), hrægle 10. 13, linenhræglā 24. 12, waghæl 23. 45, on-sæcne 14. 18, wæstm 1. 42 (S. 165, anm. 3; Fū. I, I; Fo. I, II); the pret. ind. and opt. and the pret. part. of habba and sæcga: hæfde 19. 20, 17. 6, hæbde 8. 6, sægdon I 10. 3, sægde 14. 21, gesægd I 4. 4; and the pret. opt. wælde 1. 62.

hondbæftadon 23. 27 is doubtful, cf. § 53, VII.

soðhuæðre 19. 27 belongs here if we assume two stems, one in old a, to account for the forms with æ, which are rare in Luke, and one in old e, to account for the more usual forms with e (cf. § 2) and oe (cf. § 41) (Morsbach, *Schriftsprache*, p. 30; ME. Gr., p. 131; Bülb., *Angl. Beibl.* 10. 368; Fū. I, 1).

The æ in the pres. opt. hæbbe 8. 18, wælle 10. 22 (unless this form belongs under § 22, I, note), and in the pres. part. habbend 7. 2; and the a in habba 24. 39, habbanne 21. 36, habbas 12. 4, hlattade 1. 21, hlatto 12. 45, asca 10. 13, 9. 5, support the view of S. in *Ags. Voc.*, pp. 15, 16, that, before doubled consonants and sc, a becomes æ if a palatal vowel follows, but a is retained if a velar vowel follows. This law fails to explain hlatto 12. 45, wællō 20. 3 (for the latter, however, cf. § 22, I, note).

For the a in fasne 8. 44 v. Fo. I, II.

(c) e in place of æ appears in cweð 24. 19, gecueð 13. 17, gefregn 38. 36, agef 4. 20 (pret.; cf. also § 50), eftersona 23. 20, feruitgiornis I 3. 9 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 16, anm. 2, considers this as WG. e or i). In hehstaldes, e is used throughout: hehstald 1. 27, hehstaldes 1. 27, &c. (S. 398, 3, and Cook, Gl., give this word as hēh-; but cf. Fū. I, 1; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 11).

II. WG. a in orig. open syllables appears partly as a, partly as æ.

(a) If the following syllable contains a velar vowel, a remains. Examples of a occur in the following verbal forms: alað 11. 44, aron 24. 38, hafo 12. 50, gehlaðas 14. 17, gemacade I 5. 13, magon 11. 46, onsuarade 5. 3, getalade 11. 38; also in acasa 3. 9, apoltre 6. 22, dagana 14. 10, dagum 1. 5, fadores 6. 23, fadorum 1. 72, fato 17. 31, fracoð 16. 25, raccentegum 8. 29, sagum I 2. 10, stafum 23. 38, staras 1. 26 (the a is given as long by Kl.-L.; v. under starling, but cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 12, anm.), ðafanda 22. 5, wacan 12. 38, waccane 12. 38, wraco I 9. 12.

In onsuare I 9. 16, the final e is weakened from u, and a is therefore retained.

Through analogy to other forms in the inflection, æ is found instead of a in the verbal forms hæfo 12. 17 (besides hafo, v. above), færað 10. 10 (besides gefara, v. above), onsæca 14. 18, onsæccað 20. 27; also in hondhæfum 11. 46, ondsuær (= -um) 2. 47, wræcco 18. 5 (orig. an open syllable; besides wraco, v. above).

e for æ appears in ondsuere 2. 26 (cf. onsuare, above).

For plægade 7. 32, v. S. 236, anm. 13, b. (The æ points to an old e-stem.)

(b) If the following syllable contains an orig. e (not weakened from a velar vowel), WG. a regularly appears as æ.

Examples: dæge 1. 59, fæder 14. 21, fæte I 5. 17, glæde 1. 14, ræðe 18. 8, stæfes 16. 17, wræcce 18. 8 (belongs to wræc, cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 12, a), wæter 7. 44; the optatives gefære 18. 25, mæge 3. 8, the 2 and 3 sing. pres. ind. and the sing. imper. hæfis 19. 25, hæfeð 12. 19, hæfe 10. 35, sægeð I 3. 11, sæge 8. 39 (but for these forms cf. Streitberg, Urg. Gram. p. 306 ff.; Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 90, 93, 108; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 10).

The opt. onsæca I 6. 7 has æ, perhaps on the analogy of the opt. with the palatal ending.

Cæfertune 22. 55 (besides ceafertun 11. 52, v. § 50) may belong here, otherwise with § 22, I (d), cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 10.



#### 4 VOWELS OF THE STEM-SYLLABLES

In the infin. *mæge* I 7. 5, we find *æ* followed by *e* weakened from *a*.

For the *æ* in *hlætmost*, *fæst'n*, *æt-gædre*, and in the pres. part. and infin. of st. vbs., Cl. VI, v. § 22, I (c); for *mægen*, *mægden*, *gæfel*, *geslægen*, &c., v. § 22, I (d).

Through the influence of analogy, *a* appears where we should expect *æ* in *fatte* 8. 16 (besides *fæte*, above), *fader* 3. 8 (besides *fæder*), *hæfeð* 17. 9 (besides *hæfeð*).

Loan-words: for *cælc*, *cælce*, cf. § 22, I (d); *ælmiso*, v. § 22, I (b); *cærcherne*, § 34. The *æ* in *sæcerdhad* 1. 18 would appear to indicate that the short quantity of the Latin original was sometimes retained in North.; *æ* is likewise found in *sæcerdhad* Mk. I 1. 20, and in *sæcerd* twice in Ru.<sup>2</sup> (v. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 14). *a* remains in *sacerd* 1. 5, *sacerdum* 17. 14, *sacerdhades* 1. 9 (for its length, cf. Pog. 168; S. 50, anm. 5; Ags. Voc., p. 10).

*a* is retained in *asald* 14. 5, *assald* 13. 15, *calic* 22. 42, *calicer* 11. 39 (Pog. 216 considers as long), *camal* 18. 25, *carcern* 12. 58, *oftrahtung* I 8. 10, *getrahtade* I 3. 2.

III. WG. *a* appears as *o* (not *q*) on account of lack of accent (cf. S. 51, 65, anm. 2; EB. 454; Fñ. 1, 3): of 5. 10, on 21. 31, ðon 2. 19, *huod*-(*huoegu*) 22. 35, *huot*-(*huoego*) 7. 40.

For orig. *a* in the second members of compounds, v. § 57.

WG. *a* is limited in its occurrence by:—

- (1) The change to *o* before nasals, § 15.
- (2) Breaking to *ea* (*eo*) before *r*-combinations, § 19.
- (3) Diphthongization after a palatal, §§ 50, 52.
- (4) Contraction, § 53.
- (5) Change to *e*, *æ*, through *i*-umlaut, § 22.

#### e.

§ 2. WG. *e* occupies about the same ground as in WS., except that it remains unchanged after a palatal consonant and is more subject than in WS. to the

influence of a preceding *w* and of the *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut (cf. Lind. 4, Lea 4, Fñ. 2).

Numerous examples of *e* occur in the pres. of st. vbs., Cl. III, IV, V, and in the pret. part. in Cl. V: *gebeden* I 7. 2, *beres* 14. 27, *gebernes* 8. 16, *cueðas* 6. 28, *delfo* 13. 8, *etað* 15. 2, *ettas* 5. 30 (also *éto* 17. 8, *éta* 22. 30, and *ætta* 12. 45, v. below), *fregna* 20. 3, *gefregno* 23. 14 (forms with *æ* in the pres. are more frequent, v. below, *frægno*, &c.; for *fraignende* I 6. 19, v. § 14), *agef* (imper.) 6. 29, *forgefo* 23. 16, *begetne* I 8. 16, *ongeten* I 11. 11, *geldanne* 7. 41, *helpende* I 7. 11, *gelegeno* 24. 4, *gemeten* 6. 38, *gesegen* 1. 3, *spreces* I 3. 4, *sprece* 1. 19, *sprecend* 12. 3, *forswelgas* 20. 47, *getreden* 8. 5. Other examples: *beb-  
bisca* 18. 37, *gebed* 23. 24, *winbeger* 6. 44, *unberend* 1. 7, *bergana* 8. 32, *besmum* 11. 25, *bismeria* 14. 29, *gecuelledo* 23. 32, *efn* 6. 34, *feðrum* 13. 14, *gere* 18. 24, *nest* 13. 34, *ondget* 24. 45, *hueðer* 6. 39, (soð) *hueðre* 6. 35, (ðah)-*hueðre* 6. 33 (besides *-huæðre*, v. § 1, I (b)), *mec* 14. 27, *sedle* 1. 52 (*sédlo* 20. 46), *godspell* I 2. 6, *godspelledon* 24. 15, *suegir* 12. 53 (besides *suoeger* 12. 53, v. § 40, *swer* I 4. 16, *suar* 4. 38, v. §§ 53 II, 43), *telgum* 13. 19, *ðec* 23. 37, *weg* 7. 27 (*woeg* 3. 4, § 41), *welig* 12. 21, *wer* 2. 36 (besides *woer* 8. 38, v. § 41), *werum* 11. 31 (besides *warana* 14. 24, *wæras* 9. 32, v. § 46).

For the reduplicating preterites: *heht* 5. 14, *fengon* 5. 5, *ahengon* 23. 23, cf. Streitberg, pp. 168, 331; S. 394; 395, I, and anm. 1; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 18.

*æ* instead of *e* is found in *ætta* 12. 45, *frægno* 22. 68, *frægnanne* 9. 45, *frægnende* I 10. 6, *frægnende* 2. 46, *spræcend* 1. 64, *tostraegdæð* 11. 23, *wæs* (imp.) 18. 13 (where EB. 92, anm., attributes it to the influence of *w*, cf. § 41), *wræco* 18. 5, *wræc* 18. 3 (S. 391, anm. 5).

Gmc. *e* appears as *o* in *oððe* I 4. 3, *oðða* 22. 27 (=Got. *aíþþáu*, but cf. Lea 42, a).

Loan-words: *cent* I 5. 10, *senepes* 13. 19, *tempel* I 10. 3, *tempeles* 23. 45.

WG. *e* is limited in its occurrence by :—

- (1) The change to *i* before a nasal, § 17.
- (2) A preceding palatal, § 49 ff.
- (3) Breaking before *r*-, *h*-, *l*-combinations, § 19 ff.
- (4) The change to *eo* (*ea*) through *u/o*-umlaut, § 31.
- (5) Contraction, § 53.
- (6) The influence of a preceding *w*, § 41.

i.

§ 3. I. WG. *i* (= Idg. *i*) is found in the 2 sing. and pl. pret. ind., the pret. opt., and pret. part. st. vbs., Cl. I (the pl. pret. ind., however, is usually affected by *u/o*-umlaut, cf. § 32): gedrifen 8. 29, fordrifeno 13. 28, arisen 22. 45, gesliten 8. 29, besmitten 14. 34, astigon 5. 19, bisuicen 21. 8, foreawrigen 23. 45, awrite I 2. 13, awritten 3. 4, hrippes 19. 21 (probably the *i* is short since some of the forms show *u/o*-umlaut (e.g. hriopað 12. 24, cf. § 32), cf. S. 382, ann. 3; Beitr. 10. 506; Fñ. 3, bem.; Fo. 3); in the pret.-pres. vb. wuta: witteð 21. 30, witto 1. 18, witte 8. 10, wiste 12. 39; also in bilwit (cf. Fo. 3, I) 11. 34, halfewic 10. 30, eswico 13. 15, fises I 11. 14, geflit I 11. 3, (grist)bittung 13. 28, hider 16. 26, his 1. 77, him 2. 33, hine 2. 44, hire 1. 28, hit 11. 28, hliniga 13. 29, huiddir 9. 57, hwistlum 7. 32, lifes 4. 4, lifiga 24. 23, niðrung 23. 40, geniðrad 6. 37, sinigað 20. 35, instihtade I 2. 6, hornpic 4. 9, priclu 12. 59, scipe 5. 3, tosliterum I 2. 11, ðidder 24. 28, widua I 4. 15, awisnade 8. 6, unwittende I 7. 19, witnese 18. 20, wið I 2. 2, ondwlitto 22. 64, mægwlit 9. 29, writtra I 3. 3.

For bið 6. 44, bist 10. 41 as *contamination-forms*, cf. Streitberg, p. 317; but cf. also Brugmann, Kur. Gr. 655.

The *i* in ðirde 13. 32, ðirddan 24. 7, may belong here or in II (b); cf. the two possible ground-forms given by Kl., PG., p. 492: \*tretio- and \*tritio-; cf. also Brugmann, Kur. Gr. 441, 3; 447, 3.



II.  $i < \text{WG. } i$ , Idg.  $e$ .

(a) Before a nasal + cons.: the pres. of st. vbs., Cl. III: bindeð 11. 22, blinnað 22. 51 (cf. also § 56, II), drinco 17. 8, dringes 17. 8, gefindes 15. 9, onginnes 13. 25, grindas 17. 35, singes 22. 34, gesuingeð 18. 33, gelimpeð 21. 13, geðringað 8. 45; the subst. vb. sint 2. 49, sindon 9. 12; and blind 18. 35, fingeres 16. 24, inna 1. 15, innað I 3. 15, innoð I 7. 7, hring 15. 22, tintergo 12. 5, intinge 8. 47, inðing 23. 14, ðing 18. 27, wind 8. 24, winnað 12. 27, wintra I 2. 4, winstrum 23. 33.

$y$  for  $i$  is found in symble I 9. 12 (where Fū. 3 attributes it to the labializing influence of  $m$ ), wynnes I 2. 8 (where the change is probably due to the preceding  $w$ , cf. § 47).

(b) Before an orig.  $i$  or  $j$ : the pres. forms of bidda, sitta: biddo 8. 28, biddas 13. 24, sitteð 14. 28, sittendo 5. 17; also birdas 2. 24, is 2. 49, cild 1. 41, firr 24. 28, firrfara 7. 6 (cf. also § 19, III), earliprece I 11. 16, micel 16. 25, micla 8. 39, middum I 11. 12, mitto 11. 33, mildsa 18. 39, scilling 15. 9, sibb 1. 79, gesigðe 9. 52, gesihðo 1. 22, spilleð 17. 33, feortig I 4. 10, (fif)tih 16. 6, gesmiride 4. 18, smirinese 7. 37 (cf. § 19, III), titto 11. 27, ðignen 22. 56, willo 2. 14, will 13. 31 (for the forms with  $a$ : wallas 8. 20, wallað 16. 26, &c., cf. Fū. 3; for those with  $æ$ : wælle 13. 20, wællō 20. 3, wællað 12. 29, &c., cf. § 22, I, note).

Welle 22. 42, nelle 14. 12, may be due to the interchange of  $e$  and  $i$ , but cf. § 22, I, note.

Loan-words: cirica 7. 5, disces 11. 39, disc 22. 30, discipul I 2. 1, libra 19. 20, libras 19. 13, sinapis I 8. 6, binna 2. 16 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 20).

$i > \bar{i}$  by the falling out of a nasal before a voiceless spirant (§ 66, II) in: fiftih 16. 6, fifo I 7. 2, siðum 15. 8, feorsiðum 19. 8, grist(bittung) 13. 28 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 43), swiðe 9. 29, suiðra 6. 6; also in the loan-word pisum 15. 16, pislice 11. 53 (Fo. 3).

In *siðða* 7. 45 (besides *soðða* 13. 7, cf. § 32 (c)), the *i* has again been shortened (EB. 246, 336).

WG. *i* is limited in its occurrence by:—

- (1) Breaking before *r*-combinations, and *h*, § 19 ff.
- (2) *u/o*-umlaut, § 32.
- (3) The influence of a preceding *w*, § 47.
- (4) Contraction, § 53.

#### o.

§ 4. WG. *o* remains unchanged in the pret. part. of st. vbs. Cl. II, III, IV: *beboden* I 9. 7, *boren* 21. 23, *gebroceno* 4. 18, *gecoren* I 7. 1, *ofcorfen* 3. 9, *underdolfen* 8. 14, *gefrognen* 17. 20, *beloccen* 11. 7, *forloren* 15. 32, *tostrogden* 21. 6, *geðorscen* 20. 10, *gewordne* I 3. 4; also in *bod* I 3. 18, *bodare* 9. 33, *gebohte* I 10. 1, *bodigo* 2. 10, *cofa* 19. 46, *coss* 7. 45, *costende* I 10. 8, *costunges* 8. 13, *cotte* 11. 7, *cropp* 6. 44, *dohter* 2. 36, *dor* 13. 25, *droppo* 22. 44, *fola* I 10. 2, *fole* 2. 36, *foxe* 13. 32, *fore* 1. 17, *forhtiga* 21. 9, *grornunge* 1. 6, *lof* 18. 43, *losa* 9. 24, *hlod* I 3. 4, *hogascip* 2. 47, *horn* 1. 69, *hordern* 12. 24, *hosum* 15. 16, *loswist* 9. 25, *mohða* 12. 33, *tomorgen* 12. 28, *morðor* 23. 19, *norða* 13. 29, *oxa* 14. 5, *oft* 10. 40, *posa* 9. 3, *unscortende* 12. 33 (besides *sceortiga* 22. 32, § 52), *snotrum* 10. 21, *oferslopum* 20. 46, *ðolende* I 5. 7, *ðornas* 8. 7, *wolcen* 9. 34, *word* 24. 17.

For *hōlas* 9. 58, *holo* I 6. 12, cf. S. 242, ann. 3; EB. 529; Fo. 3; cf. § 76.

*ðorfeð* 5. 31, *ðorfende* 16. 22, &c., owe their vowel to the pret. *ðorfte* (Lea 9 (1); Fū. 4, *bemerkung*; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 48, ann. 3).

In some words, always apparently in close connection with a labial consonant, WG. *o* appears as *u* (S. 55; Fū. 4, *bemerkung*; EB. 116): *full* 1. 28, *ufa* 24. 49, *ufor* 14. 10, *ulfum* 10. 3, *fugul* 13. 34, *lufo* 11. 42, *lufað* 7. 5, *lufiande* 6. 32, *wiðspurna* 4. 11, *geondspurnad* 7. 33.

Through a scribal error, *a* stands for *o* in *lasað* 5. 37.



o of WS. wolde is replaced by a, æ: walde 19. 23, waldest 13. 34, wælde 1. 62.

For ohtrippe, cf. § 11.

Loan-words: olebearu 22. 39, apostolas I 9. 6, portcuene 7. 37, scorpion 11. 22. The o in torr 13. 4, torres I 3. 8, corresponds to classical Latin u (= popular Latin o) of *turris*.

WG. o is limited in its occurrence by:—

(1) The change to u before a nasal, § 18.

(2) i-umlaut, § 23.

#### u.

§ 5. WG. u remains in the pret. pl. ind. and pret. opt. of st. vbs., Cl. II, and in the pret. pl. ind., pret. opt., and pret. part. of strong vbs. of Cl. III: forlure 15. 9, gebunden 8. 29, unbundon 19. 31, bebrugdon 20. 20, gecurfe 11. 6, underdulfon 8. 7, druncon 17. 27, druncene I 10. 8, fundon 19. 48, frugnon 3. 14, guldon 7. 42, ongunnon 7. 49, gehulpo 5. 7, gesungon 7. 32, ðursecon 22. 63, geðrungen 8. 42, wunnon 5. 5, wurpon 19. 35; also in burug 9. 10, utacund 16. 12, cunnande 17. 20, dumb 1. 22, dura 11. 7, fultume 10. 40, grund 6. 49, hundas 16. 21, hundrað 16. 40, hunger 4. 25, lustlice I 10. 5, sum 11. 27, sunu 6. 35, sunna 21. 25, sulh 9. 62, getrummade 3. 18, getrumade 9. 51 (besides the umlauted forms, cf. § 24), tunga 1. 64, tungul I 10. 16, ðurstendo I 5. 6, ðuslice 9. 9, upp I 4. 10, under 4. 27, wuldor 4. 6 (Fü. 5), gewuldrade 23. 47, wundum 16. 20, wundria 1. 46.

By the falling out of a nasal before a voiceless spirant u>ū in: ús 13. 25, usra 20. 14, usum 1. 73, cuðo 2. 44, cuðamen 1. 5, muði 1. 64, suð 12. 55, suða 13. 29, uðwutto 22. 66. Because of the weak accent this ū appears as o in oðð 2. 15, &c. (<\*unþ, EB. 454).

Loan-words: luh 8. 22, cursung 20. 47 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 24), turturas 2. 24, culfra 3. 22 (Holthausen, IF. 10. 112; cf. KL., PG., p. 337).

WG. *u* is limited in its occurrence by:—

(1) *i*-umlaut, § 24.

(2) Change to *iu* after palatals, § 49 ff.

## CHAPTER II. LONG VOWELS

The long vowels are not regularly marked, but are sporadically indicated by an accent (') or by doubling the vowel (Lea 38). Where such indications occur in the text, they will be noted.

### *ā.*

§ 6. WG. *ā* (=Gmc. *ā*, Got. *ē*, WS. *æ*) is represented by *ē* with a few examples of *æ* (S. 150, 1; EB. 96).

This *e* appears in the third stem of st. vbs. Cl. IV, V: bedon I 9. 5, beron 7. 14, brecon 13. 26, gebrecon 6. 1, gefreten 8. 5, éton 13. 26, geton 18. 34, ongeton 18. 34, gesprecon 2. 15, gesegon 5. 26; in the pres. and pret. part. of some red. vbs.: ondredes 23. 40, leto 13. 28, letas 18. 16, redanne 4. 16, slepes 22. 46; in the subst. vb.: weron 16. 11, wer 2. 22, nere I 3. 9, toweron 23. 48; in the pret. of the vb. *doa*: dedon 6. 11, ðerhdedon 2. 39 (for the more frequent forms with *y*: dyde 2. 48, dydon 17. 10, &c., cf. § 24). Other examples: ber 5. 18, beer 5. 24, bernisse 21. 11, dedum 23. 51, efernlocað 24. 29, erend(wreco) 7. 42 (Kl., Beitr. 6. 385, 386; Bugge, *ibid.* 24. 431 ff.; Fū. 6; but cf. also S. 100, *anm.* 4), ettere 7. 34, étlic 24. 41, ferlice 9. 39, feerstylt 5. 26, erist 2. 34, eswico 13. 15, huer 17. 17, huér 9. 48, hér 21. 18, ger I 4. 6, léce I 2. 1, lecnande 9. 6, légo 16. 24, forletnise 21. 20, megas 23. 49, mersung 4. 14, gemersiað I 7. 19, ned 9. 39, nedon 24. 29, nedles 18. 25, nedra 11. 11, redo I 11. 5, sed 8. 11, séde 1. 55, seteras 20. 20, slep 5. 9, sprec 16. 9, teleð 10. 16, telnise I 6. 12, ðér 22. 12, wedes 8. 44, gewéded 8. 35, wepen(berend) I 7. 5, setnung 23. 19, weron 4. 13.

As this ē is not changed by i-umlaut, I have thought it unnecessary to distinguish those words in which the umlaut conditions are present, as in *lece*, *dedum*, *sed*, &c. (cf. EB. 192, Lea 45, Fū. 6, Fo. 6).

The ē in the sing. *geett* 4. 2, *gefrett* 15. 30 is common Gmc. (Kl., PG., p. 436; S. 391, anm. 3; cf. Got. *frēt*, OHG. *âz*, *frât*, ON. *ât*).

æ for ē is found in *mægwlit* 9. 29, *wære* 5. 12, &c. (where Fücksel considers it to be due to the æ of the sing., Fū. 6, *bemerkung*).

ē never appears in WG. *swa*, but always *æ* or *ā*: *swæ* 18. 9, *sua* 5. 7, *sua* 8. 18 (Fū. 6; Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 10. 368 ff.; EB. 103; Fo. 6).

The *a* of *gan* has not yet been satisfactorily explained; cf. S. 57, anm. 1; Fū. 6; Fo. 6; Kl., PG., p. 433. For the forms, cf. § 112.

WG. *ā* is limited in its occurrence by:—

- (1) Following nasals, § 16.
- (2) Following palatals, § 37.
- (3) Preceding palatals, § 52.

#### ē.

§ 7. The origin of this ē (= Gmc. ē) is obscure; cf. Kl., PG., p. 411; Streitberg, § 79; Bowen, pp. 7, 10. The only example is: *her* 22. 38.

Loan-words: *febere* 4. 39, *feberadlum* 4. 38 (Pog. 118), *creciscum* I 2. 9.

#### ī.

§ 8. WG. *ī* appears as *ī*. Examples: the pres. forms of st. vbs. Cl. I: *abidas* 7. 20, *bidend* 2. 25, *bites* 9. 39, *adrifa* I 9. 16, *ariso* 15. 18, *scineð* 17. 34, *gescira* 16. 2, *astigeð* 18. 31, *toslito* 12. 18, *gesuica* 18. 1, *oferwrigað* 1. 35, *awritt* 16. 6; also: *bides* 21. 26, *bliðe* I 7. 9, *dieg* 19. 43, *gediides* 11. 27, *forduineð* 14. 34, *gitsare* I 7. 14, *higo* 2. 4, *higna* 13. 25, *hwil* 12. 50, *huit* 9. 29, *idlo* 1. 53, *gelic* I 8. 14, *lichoma* 12. 22, *licðrower* 4. 27, *lif* 12. 15,



## 12 VOWELS OF THE STEM-SYLLABLES

linneo 16. 19, mín 9. 35, rixað 22. 25, scimande 17. 24, sciremonn 3. 1, scrípen 19. 21 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 28, anm. 1), sido 12. 35, swigadon 23. 56, suin 15. 16, ofersuiðet I 4. 11, tid 1. 57, ðín 16. 6, ðrifald I 4. 11, ðrínise I 4. 9, wif 2. 5, wigbed 11. 51, wines I 5. 2, wisa 15. 7, witge 7. 28, witgong I 4. 3, onwriting I 10. 8.

For ðrio, ðrim, &c., v. § 53.

For hripes, cf. § 3, I; fifo, swiðe, &c., cf. § 3, III.

For scip 15. 6, cf. § 52(e); lih 11. 5, bitwih 11. 51, cf. § 39.

For the i in giuiað 11. 10, giuað 11. 12, giude 23. 52, &c., and giunga I 7. 2, cf. Lea 51, note; but cf. also EB. 256, anm.

For gehrineð 7. 39, gehrinade 18. 15, gehrined 21. 5, &c., cf. Fū. 14; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 28, anm. 2.

Loan-words: crist I 10. 10, &c., fic I 8. 3, ricu 4. 5, ricemenn 7. 41, pinia 8. 28.

### ō.

§ 9. WG. ō appears as ō.

Examples: all forms of the pret. of st. vbs. Cl. VI: ahof 1. 52, onsóc 22. 57, slogon 22. 64, astód 6. 8, onstodon 23. 23, gesuor 1. 73, geðuoge 7. 4, geðuogun 5. 2, awox 2. 40, awoxe 22. 31; numerous pres. forms of vb. doa: dom 20. 8, doa 12. 17, &c.; also: broðer 6. 42, boc 4. 17, blod 11. 50, dogrum 2. 46, dome 11. 32, fostring I 2. 1, fota I 11. 13, flód 17. 27, bereflor 3. 17, flowing 8. 43, frofor 2. 25, god 18. 18, behofað 12. 12, behoffic' 14. 28, hrofe 17. 34, locas I 10. 17, moder I 5. 11, móres 19. 37, mót 6. 41, hrowundum 8. 23, unrod I 6. 9, unrot 18. 4, socnises 19. 44, stowa 11. 24, ðrowung 9. 23, ðrowiga 22. 15, wop 13. 28.

In gesohte, the o is shortened (S. 125).

For the ō in brohte, geðohte, woh, &c., cf. § 15, III.

In to 1. 28, 2. 34, &c., Bülbring considers that we have

WG. *ō* with lengthening (EB. 101); Sievers regards the *ō* as WG. (Gram. 60, anm.).

Final *wō* appears as *ū* in *hu* 24. 6, *huu* 15. 17, *tuu* 10. 17, and in the compound *hulic* 7. 39, *hulco* I 9. 3 (S. 60, anm.; 172, anm.; EB. 102; 464).

Loan-words: *ōr* 19. 13, *brydlopum* 20. 34 (where *o* represents ON. *au*; cf. S. 26, anm.; Kl., PG., p. 932; also Björkman, Scand. Loan-Words, p. 71, note; Fñ. 9), *stol* 15. 22, *stolum* 20. 46 (Pog. 150; S., Ags. Voc., p. 13), *non* 23. 44.

WG. *ō* is changed to *œ*, *ē*, by i-umlaut, § 25.

#### *ū*.

§ 10. WG. *ū* appears as *ū* in: *brucco* 22. 11, *brucað* 14. 15 (pres. of st. vb. Cl. II, explained as aorist pres. by Osthoff, PBB. 8. 282; cf. Kl., PG. § 161, p. 430), *lond-buend* I 3. 8, *neheburas* 1. 58, *buta* 2. 26, *drugi* I 5. 4 (besides *drygi* 23. 31; cf. § 26), *fordrugade* 8. 6, *adune* 19. 6, *hús* 13. 35, *rúmmód* 6. 35, *scua* 1. 79, *lehtune* 13. 19, *feltune* 14. 35, *ðusendo* 9. 14, *uta* 14. 35.

*ū* is changed to *ȳ* by i-umlaut, § 26.

### CHAPTER III. DIPHTHONGS

#### *ai*.

§ 11. WG. *ai* appears as *a:* in the 1 and 3 sing. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. I: *fordraf* I 4. 16, *forgrap* 5. 26, *æthran* 10. 11, *gehran* 5. 13, *aras* I 4. 6, *arás* 4. 39, *astág* 19. 4, *besuác* 19. 8, *aurat* I 2. 6; in the pret. pres. *wát* 16. 15, *aga* 18. 18, *ah* 18. 12. Other examples: *agnageð* 12. 15, *án* 23. 29, *ana* 8. 50, *adlo* 21. 11, *ár* I 4. 13, *áð* 1. 73, *báno* 24. 39, *basnung* 21. 26, *basnend* 23. 35, *cildclaðum* 2. 12, *facen* 20. 23, *famæ* 9. 39, *gastes* 4. 14, *grapað* 24. 39, *hal* 8. 30, *ham* 15. 6, *hát* I 11. 14, *gehaten* I 3. 13, *hlaf* 4. 3, *hlaferd* 16. 8, *lar* 4. 32, *forelatuu* 22. 26, *lað* 21. 17, *laað*

## 14 VOWELS OF THE STEM-SYLLABLES

16. 15, gelahte 9. 47, mara 12. 28, rahton 22. 53, sado 21. 35, sawel 12. 29, stanes 22. 41, suat 22. 24, tahte I 2. 14, tanas 23. 34, tacon 2. 12, ða 19. 34, ðara 13. 31. wag (hræl) 23. 45, wrað 14. 21.

agnettum 19. 23 may belong here (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 75, anm. 1).

For the a in geneolacað 10. 11, -laceð 21. 28, cf. § 57, II.

According to S. 57, 2 (a); 62, anm.; Kal. 59, anm.; 60 a; the following also belong here: oncnawanne I 7. 20, oncnawen 8. 17, saweð 8. 5, sawenne 8. 5, gesaundes 19. 22. Others consider this ā = WG. ā (§ 6): cf. EB. 129; Braune, Got. Gr. 22; Lea 40; Fñ. 6; Fo. 6; also KL, PG., pp. 432, 407.

In a few words ð appears instead of ā: noht 5. 5, 10. 19, &c., no 20. 22, ohtrippe 10. 2 (?).

ē for ā occurs in we 11. 47; æ in wæ 10. 13, 11. 42, &c. (Lea 43, 5); the word is classed with the Scand. loan-words in KL, PG., p. 935; Bjorkman, p. 39, considers it 'dubiously Scandinavian.'

Loan-words: caseras I 3. 13, caseres 20. 24, caseri 20. 22, casering I 8. 16 (besides cæseres I 10. 8, cæsering I 8. 16, Pog. 199; also cessares 2. 1, cf. § 27). In magist' 6. 40, ā corresponds to Lat. ā, cf. S., Ags. Voc., p. 12; EB. 101, anm. 3.

For sacerð, sacerðhad, cf. § 1, II (b).

ā is affected by i-umlaut, § 27.

### au.

§ 12. WG. au is represented in L. by ēa, in some cases by ēo; for this confusion between ēa and ēo in North. cf. S. 150, 3; EB. 108.

ēa occurs in the 1 and 3 sing. pret. ind. of st. vbs. Cl. II: beađ I 10. 19, geceas 6. 13, geceasa 14. 7, forleas 15. 9, tosceaf 1. 52; also in beam 6. 41, beanbælgum 15. 16, bear 1. 15, biobread I 11. 14, ceapigas 19. 13, dead 7. 12, deaðo

20. 31, deafo 7. 22, deað 2. 26, eadig I 7. 7, eare 12. 3, earum 4. 21, earlipprico 22. 50, eastres 2. 41, eastdæl 2. 1 (four times), eaðe 12. 58, eaðor 5. 23, eauað 3. 7, ædeande 2. 15, eawung 8. 17, heafod 7. 46, heape 20. 37, geleafa 8. 48, hleafgewritten 16. 6, leas 18. 20, ðorleaso 17. 10, reado 6. 44, fellereade 16. 19, sceauade 20. 23, sceawandum 6. 10, sceawanne 23. 48, screadungum 16. 21 (besides *scraedungra* 9. 17, a scribal error), seam 22. 36, smeawungas 11. 17, gesmeadon 20. 14, stream 6. 48, teancuidum 20. 11, ðreatað I 6. 8, ðread 6. 19; and in *heannise* 12. 29, *heannissum* 2. 4, where *h* has fallen before causing pal. uml. (S. 165, anm. 3; Bülb., *Angl. Beibl.* 9. 107; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 32; cf. also § 35).

Forms with *eo*: *geceopad* 19. 15, *eoro* I 8. 15 (once with *eo*, five times with *ea*), *eostro* 22. 1 (nine times with *eo*, once with *ea*, cf. also Lind.<sup>2</sup> 34), *eoðe* 14. 8, *heonisum* I 4. 1, *bereofadon* 10. 30, *gespeoftad* 18. 32 (the origin of this word is, however, uncertain—whether from WG. *au* or *eu*—cf. S. 384, anm. 5; 396, 2 a, and anm. 5; *Ags. Voc.*, p. 30; Fo. 12).

*Ceolas* 9. 17 should probably be classed under WG. *au*. For a discussion of its origin, cf. *Lea* 40; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 32, anm. 2; for the *o*, cf. § 61, II, note 2.

OE. *ēa* is limited in its occurrence by:—

- (1) change to *ē* through i-umlaut, § 28;
- (2) change to *ē* through palatal umlaut, § 35.

#### *eu, iu.*

§ 13. WG. *eu* appears as *ēo*, *ēa*, and in one instance *io* (S. 150, anm. 1; EB. 114 and anm. 1; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 37, 38).

I. *ēo*: *breost* 18. 13, *breosto* 11. 27, *cneoum* 22. 41 (*cneuum* 5. 8, § 48), *cneoreso* 9. 41, 11. 29 (*eo* sixteen times), *feortig* I 4. 10 (*eo* five times), *hrcownise* I 4. 7 (*eo* fifteen times), *leaf* 9. 35, *leaf* 20. 13, *leafost* 8. 22, *oferleor* 22. 42 (cf. S., *Ags. Voc.*, p. 34), *treo* 21. 29 (*trowana* § 48), *treoufast* 19. 17, *treofæsto* 16. 11, *getreowdon* 18. 9,

geðeodo 21. 24, ellðeodigde 15. 13 (besides the forms with *io*, cf. II, below).

ēa: forbeadende 23. 2, forbeada 6. 29, forbeadæ 9. 50, forbeadane I 6. 11, bead 16. 21, fearfald 19. 8, hreaunise 3. 8, gehreawsadon 10. 13 (besides gehreues 17. 4, hræwende I 9. 4, cf. § 47), hreaf I 4. 19, hreafo 4. 27, hreade 7. 24, seað 14. 5, seaðe 6. 39, leaf 3. 22, ðeade I 2. 6, ðeað I 2. 6, ðeatum I 6. 14, ðeatom I 10. 16, ðeaf 12. 33, bear 1. 15, gebearscip I 5. 2.

ēa is found also in seado 12. 23, where it is from WG. *iu*, cf. Got. *siujan* (Fü. 13). For *gespeoftad*, cf. § 12.

īo: bebiado 23. 46.

The preterites of the following red. verbs with *ea*, *eo* may be classed here, though strictly products of contraction originally: *oncneaun* 2. 50, *ondrearde* 18. 2, *feall* 8. 5, *feoll* 5. 12, *gefeoll* 1. 12, *gefeald* 4. 20, *feol* 5. 8, *geheald* 18. 21.

For *eode*, *eade*, cf. § 53.

II. Gmc. *eu* followed by *i*, *j*, became in WG. *iu*, and this in North. appears as *īo* (EB. 110, 111, 113).

The examples in Luke are: *diorwyrðe* 7. 25, *lioda* 8. 26, *lioda* 17. 11, *gelioreð* 21. 32 (cf. S., Ags. Voc., p. 34), *geliorade* I 2. 4, *geliorad* 21. 33, *geliornises* 9. 51, *oferliorað* 21. 23, *onsione* 9. 29, *onsion* 24. 5, *stiorde* I 5. 19, *gestiorde* I 5. 19, *gestrionað* 12. 21, *ellðiodig* 17. 18 (besides *ellðeodigde*, cf. § 13, I), *geðiodsumnise* I 8. 1, *ðiofonto* 18. 20, *ðiostrana* 22. 53, *ðiostriona* 11. 36.

For the *io* in *hiogwisc* 12. 39, *hiorodes* 2. 13, where it is due to the vocalizing of *w*, cf. § 61, II.

For *hriofol* 5. 15, *hrioffe* 5. 12, cf. § 29.

ēo, īo are changed to ē, ī by palatal umlaut, §§ 36, 38.

#### ei, ai.

§ 14. For the special North. diphthongs *ei* and *ai*, cf. S. 155, 3; EB. 505 and *anm.* 1, 2. The examples in Luke are—*ei*: *ceigeð* 20. 24, *ceigde* 8. 8, and all forms of the

## INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS 17

verb ceiga; ceiste 7. 14, heiste 1. 32, heisto 1. 35, heigsta I 11. 17 (cf. also § 76), seista 1. 26, 36, teigðas 11. 44, teigðuncgas 18. 12, fífteiðo I 4. 6, fífteiðe 3. 1, fífteih 7. 41, sexdeih 24. 13. ai: fraignende I 6. 19, gefraignas 19. 31, gefraign 8. 30, cnaihtes 18. 16 (Fü. 14).

### CHAPTER IV. CHANGES IN ACCENTED VOWELS THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORING SOUNDS

#### Influence of Nasals.

##### WG. a.

§ 15. I. WG. a before nasals appears almost entirely as o.

Before m and m+cons.: from 22. 16 (besides fram 12. 54), huommes 20. 17, lichomes 11. 34, lombro 10. 3, noma 10. 20, somnað 3. 17, somnunes 8. 41, womb 11. 27.

Before n and n+cons.: conn 1. 34, fonn 3. 17, hona 22. 34, hond 1. 71, lond 12. 16, monigo 7. 11, mon 6. 45, ondo I 4. 18; ond- in ondeton 10. 21, ondetnise I 6. 17, ondetung I 4. 17, ondget 24. 45, &c.; stondað 9. 27, þone 1. 59 (besides ðene 9. 35, ðæne 4. 27), ðonne 3. 13, on 21. 31; on- in onsæne 14. 18, onwæld 22. 25, onwriting I 10. 8, &c.; wona 11. 41, huona I 3. 15, &c.

Before a guttural nasal: hongende I 11. 18, long 20. 47, gemong 23. 56, song 15. 25, strong 15. 14, ðonc 6. 32, ðuongas 3. 16, wlonc 12. 21, nercsnawong 23. 43.

The vowel is retained in its original form in the second stem of st. vbs. Cl. III: geband 10. 34, unband I 9. 20, blann 7. 45, gedranc 5. 39, fand 7. 9, ingann 24. 27, agann 11. 38, gelamp 8. 42, gearn I 11. 9 (with metathesis), gesang 22. 60, bewand 2. 7. The o appears in conn, cf. above.

For the a in am 1. 19, cf. S. 43, anm. 2; Fü. 15; Sweet, HES. 442.



Loan-words: gecomp 22. 44, (heafod)ponna 23. 33, oferplontiað 17. 6, geplontad 13. 6. a remains in angel 1. 26 (five times, otherwise with i-umlaut, § 22, III), camal 18. 25.

II. This *o* was lengthened to *ō* on the falling out of the nasal before a voiceless spirant (§ 66, II): oðer 22. 32, soð 1. 1, toðana 13. 28.

III. Before *ŋ* the change from *a* to nasalized *ā* took place in Gmc. on the falling out of the nasal; this *ā* appears always as *ō*: brohte 14. 20, gebroht I 5. 11, geðohte 1. 29, dohton 9. 45, ðoht 1. 51, woh 3. 5, wohfull 19. 22, ahoh 23. 21, ahoen 23. 23, onfoað 11. 10, &c. (cf. also § 53). For the possible shortening in brohte, geðohte, &c., cf. S. 125.

#### WG. ā.

§ 16. WG. ā (= Gmc. *ǣ*, North. *ē*) before a nasal becomes *ō*: cuome 4. 34, cuomon 22. 52, mona 21. 25, moneð 1. 36, nomon 11. 52, sona 1. 64.

In the second stem of the verbs *cuma* and *nima*, instead of *o*, we have *ō*: cuom 5. 32, cwom 19. 10, fornom 8. 29, ofgenom I 2. 17 (S. 390).

huon 12. 48, huonum I 7. 19, &c., may belong here (Lea 48; Fū. 15, 4; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 45; Fo. 15, IV).

This *ō* is subject to i-umlaut, § 25.

#### WG. e.

§ 17. WG. *e* becomes *i* before *m*: nimeð 13. 33, fornimeð 9. 54, niming I 5. 3. The *u* in nummanne 1. 25 is on the analogy of the pret. part. numen.

This *i* is subject to u/o-umlaut, § 32 (b), (c).

#### WG. o.

§ 18. WG. *o* before simple nasals becomes *u* (S. 70): cuma 18. 16, cuummanne 13. 45, fruma I 2. 12, (bryd)guma

5. 34, summer 21. 30, huniges 24. 42 (for wyniges, cf. § 24), ðuneri I 9. 10, wuna 24. 29, gewunade 1. 56, geuna 4. 16, wyrtruma 8. 13.

This u is subject to i-umlaut, § 24.

### Breaking.

#### § 19. Before r + cons.

I. a before r + cons. is broken to ea: gecearf I 9. 16, ofcearf 9. 9, olebearua 22. 39, olebearu 21. 37 (S. 103, anm. 1), geearnadon I 9. 3, earnas 17. 37, gearuu 12. 40, gearo 22. 33, gearwiga 1. 76, heard 19. 3, nearo 13. 24 (in such forms the breaking is brought over from cases where the w is not vocalized, S. 103, anm. 1, cf. also § 61, III), scearflice I 9. 4, inweard 11. 39, útteward 11. 39, geonduearde 14. 6 (for forms with wa-, wæ-, cf. § 46; wo-, § 57, I). geruað I 11. 2 is probably a scribal error for gearuað (but cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 48, anm. 1).

a occurs without breaking in arme 1. 51, armum 2. 28, arð 4. 34 (where it is probably due to the lightness of the accent, cf. Sweet, HES. 442; Lea 13, 3; Fū. 16, 1; EB. 454), barm 6. 38, barme 16. 22, darr 20. 40, harmcuedum 6. 28, naroneðe I 8. 6, ðarfe 21. 3, ðarflic I 3. 7, nedðarf I 2. 8 (besides forms with æ: ðærfe 16. 20, ðærflicra I 7. 19; cf. Lea 11, 4; and with o: ðorfe I 9. 3, &c., with the vowel taken over from the pret.).

Other words with æ before r + cons. are: dærst (sb.) 12. 1, dærsto I 8. 16, dærstum 3. 7, 12, dærstana 22. 1, 7, gedærsted 13. 21 (which may be due to i-umlaut, Lind.<sup>2</sup> 64, a), biwærlas 11. 42, biwærle 10. 31, ymbwærle 7. 9 (Füchsel's explanation of this difficult word will be found in Fū. 16, 1; cf. also Lind.<sup>2</sup> 65).

Breaking is omitted before the r-combinations resulting from metathesis in gærs 12. 28, arn 15. 20 (S. 79, anm. 2; Kal. 57, anm. 13); Bülbring on the contrary considers metathesis as earlier than breaking in Anglian EB. 132,



anm.; Angl. Beibl. 9. 97. For examples of breaking before an r-combination arising from metathesis, cf. below, III.

Breaking is omitted in the loan-words carr 6. 48 (Kl., PG., p. 929), carcern (besides cærcherne, § 34).

II. The breaking of e before r+cons. appears as eo and ea.

eo: eorðe 21. 23, eorðes 4. 5 (eo twenty-four times in this word), georne 1. 3, 15. 8, geornfull 10. 41, geornfullo 12. 26, 12. 22, geornlice 7. 43, heorta 12. 34, heortes 1. 51 (eo ten times, in compounds nine times), leornas 10. 26, geleornadon 6. 3.

ea: ceafas 19. 27, ofercearfa 8. 22, ymbcearfanne 1. 59, earðes 12. 56 (ea only once), fearr 7. 6, fearra 15. 20, fearrade 1. 38, &c. (always with ea), gearnfull 19. 22, gearnfulle 12. 11, hearta 12. 34 (ea eleven times, three times in compounds), meard 6. 35, mearde 10. 7, I 11. 2.

For the a, æ in farma, færma, cf. § 46.

III. i is broken to io in giornde 18. 35, giorndon 5. 1, giornanne 16. 3, giornise 11. 8, hiordo I 4. 1, hiorda 2. 15, hriord 14. 12, hriordege 17. 8, hriordanne 15. 32, gehriorda 11. 38, gehriordage 12. 37.

For the preservation in North. of the differentiation between eo and io cf. S., Ags. Voc., p. 26 ff.; Bülb. 140.

i remains unbroken in firr 24. 28, firrfara 7. 6, smiriso 23. 26, smiride 4. 18 (EB. 187, anm.; Eng. Stud. 27. 85).

Breaking has followed metathesis in iornað 14. 31, iorneð 22. 10, iornende I 2. 7, iornendes 22. 44. In the same connection should be mentioned beornendo I 7. 17, beorning 1. 11, with the exceptional diphthong eo (Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 97, EB. 132, anm.; S., Ags. Voc., p. 35).

In the following, metathesis has been later than the breaking period: birdas 2. 24, ðirde 13. 32, ðirdam 24. 7, &c.

§ 20. Before l+cons.

I. a in this position is unbroken: ald 1. 18, aldor 11. 15,

all 2. 1, alme 2. 25, *etc.*, esalmum 7. 21, manigfald 5. 17, fearfald 19. 8, fallast 11. 17, gefalla 16. 17, haldes 5. 15, haldum 1 6. 15, hafi 19. 8, halm 3. 17, habado 19. 20, halo 7. 22, salmor 2. 24, saldes 19. 23, ofressald 14. 14, sal 1 5. 15.

For *saalla*, *etc.* cf. § 51 (c).

fallo 1 5. 3 (sb.) is puzzling, but cf. §§ 22. V: 30. note.

Loan-words: psalme 1 10. 11, salma 20. 42, salmas 24. 244, *essald* 13. 15, *essalder* 19. 30 (Loa 12. 96).

II. Breaking of *e* before *l*+cons. is found only in *seolf* 11. 17, *seolf* 11. 46, *seolie* 10. 27 (Dietz. 2. 773, explains these forms as analogous to those in which there was an inflectional guttural vowel causing *u*, *o* / *a*-umlaut).

§ 21. Before *h*.

In this position breaking has usually been simplified through the so-called palatal umlaut (§ 55 ff.; S. 158, 3; EB. 133). There are to be found a few instances, however, where *h* has disappeared early between a vowel and a voiced consonant (cf. § 76, II), causing breaking but not simplification of the vowel: *geneolecað* 21. 20, *geneolecton* 8. 24 (S. 165, anm. 3; EB. 146, b; Fñ. 16, 3; but cf. also Bñb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 107).

Loan-words: *getrahtade* 1 3. 2, *oftrahtung* 18. 10.

### *Umlaut.*

#### The i-umlaut.

##### WG. a.

§ 22. I (a). The i-umlaut of WG. *a* before an orig. simple cons. is regularly *e*: *bed* 5. 18, *ber(ern)* 12. 24, *bereflor* 3. 17, *betra* 5. 30, *egisa* 21. 26, *elðidig* 17. 18, *elne* 12. 25, *erinde* 17. 7, *feder* 15. 18, *ferende* 7. 12, *aheses* 6. 45, *ahesen* 10. 15, *hefig* 11. 17, *helle* 10. 15, *herende* 1 9. 6, *hergas* 9. 12, *merio* 11. 42 (but cf. Lind.<sup>8</sup> 63, anm. 2), *mett* 12. 23, *nett* 5. 6, *areoganne* 1 8. 7, *sceðde*

4. 35, selles 22. 48 (besides sileð I 6. 14, § 51; and the forms with ea: sealla, &c., § 31), selenes I 3. 4, sete I 8. 12, settende I 3. 8, getelles 14. 28, awecce 3. 8, aueccende I 6. 1. With the umlaut brought in analogically are: aweht I 5. 11, awehton 9. 32, settes 19. 21 (S. 407).

æ occurs in fædir (ds.) 22. 11.

Note.—The verb *willa* presents some puzzling forms in North.; besides the regular forms with *i* (§ 3), are those with *a* (§ 3); with *æ*: wælle (1 sing. ind.) 13. 20, wælo (1 sing. ind.) 20. 3, wælle (opt.) 9. 24, wællað 12. 29, nællað 6. 37; with *e*: welle (opt.) 22. 42 (cf. also § 3, II (b)), nelle 14. 12. The forms in *æ* and *e* might perhaps be accounted for by assuming a present stem \**walja-*, in which case *e* would be the regular umlaut-vowel (for the umlaut of *a* before *ll* due to WG. gemination, cf. EB. 179, anm. 2); *æ* might then be due to the same *w*-influence as in *was* for *wes* (§ 41).

Loan-words: *plæcum* 10. 10 (Latin, *platea*); without umlaut: *latinum* 23. 38.

(b) WG. *a* before *a* cons. group + *i* appears partly as *æ*, partly as *e* (S. 89, 2; EB. 169 and anm.).

æ: fæsto 18. 12, fæsta 5. 33, gehæftendum 4. 18, hræsta 13. 29, æftaras 246.

e: eft 24. 2, eftcerr I 8. 18 and other compounds with eft- (except æftaras, cf. above), esne I 6. 13, gesthus 2. 7, gest(ern) 22. 11, hnescum 7. 25, nestað 12. 27, nestum 3. 14 (stipendium).

Loan-words: æcced 23. 3, mæslenno 21. 2, ælmisso I 7. 16 (Fo. I, IV).

(c) Sometimes WG. *a* appears as *æ* in certain words in which an *i* or *j* followed the original guttural vowel of the middle syllable (S. 50, anm. 2; 100, anm. 4; Ags. Voc., p. 21; EB. 174). Examples: hlætmost I 8. 7, fæst'n I 5. 2, ætgædre 23. 18. The pres. part. and infin. of st. vbs. Cl. VI, Sievers (50, anm. 2) notes as exceptions to this rule in WS., but L. always has *æ* in this position. Examples: infærende 8. 16, befærende 18. 36, færende 14. 4, færanne 16. 3, sæccanne 4. 18, sæccenne I 9. 9, on-sæccende I 8. 8.



Analogical influences, however, so strongly favour æ in these words that they are perhaps without significance here.

(d) The umlaut of a analogically replacing æ is æ (S. 89, 3; Ags. Voc., pp. 21, ff.; EB. 177). Examples: sæcgað 24. 17, sæcgas 7. 22, eftsægga 9. 61; 2 and 3 sing. of st. vbs. Cl. VI: færes 16. 30, onsæccest 22. 34, hlæheð 6. 21, hlæhas 6. 25 (EB. 177); pret. parts. oncæcen 12. 9, geslægen 22. 7, ofslægen 9. 22 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 24; Gr. 378, anm. 1); awæcce 20. 28, ðerhwæccende 6. 12, wæccas 21. 36, wæca 12. 39, gemæcca 20. 36, gæfel I 10. 8, gæfelo 23. 2 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 23; for geafel, cf. § 50; S., Ags. Voc., pp. 18, 19), mægden 8. 54 (S., Ags. Voc., pp. 21, 23), mægen 5. 17, mægnes 22. 69 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 23, and note; but cf. EB. 91; Fo. I, II).

Loan-words: ðæccilla 11. 30, cælc 22. 20, cælic 22. 20, cælce 22. 17 (EB. 178); besides the unumlauted forms calices 11. 39, calic 22. 42).

II. WG. a before a nasal (q) has as its umlaut e: bend 13. 16, brengas 8. 15, breng 5. 14, accennes 1. 31, accenned I 3. 13, dene 3. 5, gedrenegad 10. 15, ende 1. 33, endung I. 2. 15, feng I 4. 17, ondfenges 9. 51, welfremmende 22. 25, fremðe 24. 18, bigengum 20. 10, foreglendra I 4. 15, leng 12. 25, lengre 24. 28, gemengde 13. 1, menigo 23. 8, menn I 9. 10, ricemenn 7. 41, menniscas I 2. 16, nemneð I 5. 6, penning 20. 24, hrendas 13. 7, tosende I 3. 1, scending 11. 8, scendla 11. 8, gescendes 12. 33, sténco 24. 1, forestemdon 11. 52, gestrencæd 1. 80, getemesed 6. 4, ðencende I 7. 10, geðencæ I 7. 13, ðencgað 14. 31, aðen 6. 10, aðenede 5. 13.

Loan-words: embihtes 1. 23, embihta 17. 8, cempo 3. 14, cemp 23. 36, engel I 3. 13, engelica I 11. 8.

III. WG. a before r-combinations + i appears as e; since a is regularly broken to ea in this position, we have here i-umlaut of ea, cf. ē as the i-umlaut of ēa (§ 28). Examples: gecerreð 1. 16, eftgecerred I 3. 16,

eftcerrdon 23. 48, erfe 12. 13, erfward 20. 14, ermingum 4. 18, gerd 7. 24, gere 18. 24, gegerelo 24. 4, huerf 6. 34, gemerras 13. 7, geemerredo I 2. 11. -ern in gestern 22. 11, berern 12. 24; and berneð 15. 8, aberned 12. 49, belong here if, according to Bülbring (EB. 180, anm. 1), metathesis is older than breaking in Anglian.

IV. i-umlaut of a broken to ea before h appears as e in: ehra 6. 1, tehrum 7. 44 (EB. 180, b; for tæherum 7. 38, cf. § 34, tearum 7. 44, § 53, I).

V. WG. a before l-combinations + i appears as æ: ældesto 22. 52, ældestum 9. 22, ældwut 11. 37, ældo 11. 39 (besides aldo 5. 17), hældo I. 36, ældra 15. 25 (forms with a are frequent and are on the analogy of aldor without i-umlaut), beanbælgum 15. 16, fæll (sb.) 6. 49 (cf. EB. 179, anm. 2), fælles 8. 10, gefælnise 2. 34, ahældon 24. 5, onwælde 20. 20, onwæld 19. 17, from awælted 24. 2. Gefællled for gefallen is on the analogy of the pret. parts. of weak vbs. Cl. I.

feallo I 8. 3 is probably a scribal error for faello (= fæll, cf. gefaello Mark I 5. 7; but cf. also § 30, note).

Before the secondary combination lc, æ appears in: huælc 9. 46 (forms with æ fifteen times in this word), suælc 18. 11, suælc 11. 44; e in huelc 7. 42 (with e twenty-seven times) for the forms with oe, cf. § 42, as also for those with æ.

Loan-words: felle I 9. 2, fellereade 16. 19 (Fü. 17, 1).

#### Umlaut of o.

§ 23. This umlaut is extremely rare, since in Gmc. u did not become o if followed by i, j, except when o was brought in analogically in place of u (S. 43, 3; and 93, anm.; EB. 164, anm. 1). The umlaut of this o is œ in doehter (dat.) 12. 53; e in merne 13. 32, 18. 33; Lind.<sup>2</sup> (69, anm.) considers this e as the umlaut of WG. a, but cf. the unumlauted form tomorgen 12. 28 (S. 93).



In the compound oefeste 1. 39, oefesta 19. 5, oefistade 19. 6, oefistlice 8. 33, *œ* is the umlaut of *o* < *a* (cf. §§ 1, III; 57, V).

Loan-words: oeles 16. 6, oele 10. 34, oelefæt 7. 37, oelebearuu 19. 29 (besides the unumlauted olebearua 22. 39, olebearu 21. 37).

Celmert(menn) 15. 17 is doubtful (Lea 13, note; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 63, anm. 2).

#### Umlaut of u.

§ 24. The umlaut of u of whatever origin is y. Examples: bygeð 22. 36, bycendo I 9. 45, byrgað 9. 59, gebyre 15. 12, byrig 4. 23, enylsiga 13. 25, cymes 23. 42, gecyme 22. 18 (analogically in the 1 sing. cymo 19. 13, and pl. cymað 5. 35, &c.), cryple 5. 24, cynn 21. 10, cynig 9. 7, cyssende 15. 20, gecyste 7. 38, gedrysnade 24. 31, fylges 9. 49, fylgo 9. 27, gefylle 15. 16, afyrhtad 12. 4, fyrhtnisso 21. 11, gegyrdeð 12. 37, foregyrd 17. 8, ymbhyrft 2. 1, forhycganne 11. 42, oferhygdego 1. 51, hyhtade 23. 8, hyll 3. 5, hyngrendo 6. 25, gehyncres 6. 21, gehyrston 15. 2, lycedon I 5. 1, lyf I 10. 12, gemynd I 7. 18, scyld I 8. 19, scyniga I 7. 12, gescryncan I 8. 4 (cf. § 55, II, but note also § 52 (g)), smyltnise 8. 24, snyttro 11. 49, spyrda 24. 13, ondspeyrnende I 9. 4, stryndum 22. 30, gestyldon 8. 56, gestyrige 6. 48, syndria 9. 10, synno I 9. 14, getrymade I 6. 13 (besides the unumlauted form getrumade, § 5), forðryga 11. 53, geðyld I 10. 14, ðrymm 9. 26, ðyncege 10. 36, wyniges I 11. 4 (besides huniges 24. 42; for w in place of h, v. § 61, I, note), wyrca 9. 24, wyrcendo 13. 27, wyrp 22. 41, wuyrso 11. 26 (v. also § 47), wyrft 11. 42, unwyrðe I 4. 7, wyrðo 23. 41 (cf. also § 47), yfel 6. 45, ymb 10. 40, geyppeð 12. 2.

The y of stydd 10. 1, dyde 1. 25, dydon 5. 6, &c., belongs here, whatever the origin of the unumlauted u (for the different theories, cf. S., Beitr. 16, pp. 235, 6, and Kl., PG., p. 402).

ui appears for y in geðuild 18. 17; uy in suyndriga I 3. 7; wy in wyflo 16. 25; i in ymbhuirfte 21. 26, ymbhuirftes 4. 5.

i instead of y is always found in drihten 1. 28, &c. (Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 70; EB. 307, c; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 72, anm., where it is attributed to the influence of the following palatal), bisen I 5. 4, bissenno I 8. 5 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 72, anm. 1, thinks this may be WG. i).

e for y occurs in (ende)brednise I 2. 8, 1. 3, &c. (= WS. onbryrdnis, cf. S. 180; Zeuner 30; Lea 27, 2; Fū. 17, III).

Loan-words: cyrtel 22. 36, cyrtlas 3. 11, byto 5. 37, byttum 5. 37, 38.

#### Umlaut of *ō*.

§ 25. I. The umlaut of WG. *ō* is *œ*: bloedsas 6. 28, boéc 20. 42, boege 1. 7, boego 1. 6, boeton 10. 13, doeg 14. 5, doege 1. 20, doema 13. 18, doemend 22. 30, droefad 1. 29, foereid 1. 36, foedanne I 8. 12, foerum 5. 7, foerano I 4. 18, gefoero 5. 10, foét 24. 39, foeta 7. 45, froefernise 6. 24, æfgroefa 12. 58, groene 23. 31, groeting 1. 41, gegroeta 8. 28, eorðhroernisso 21. 11, hroeðnise 8. 24, moeder 12. 53, moederes I 5. 4, gemoetest 1. 30, oeðel I 4. 13, geroefa 23. 4, roeðo 3. 5, scoeum 22. 35, scoeas 15. 22 (forms with *oe*: sceowum, sceoea, &c., cf. § 52), soeca 22. 23, soéc 9. 59, woede 11. 7, woepe 7. 13, woestig 9. 12, woesta 13. 29.

roecels 1. 9 appears to belong here; the forms with *e*, recels, &c., are classed with the *i*-umlaut of *ea* in Fū. 17, VII; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 76; Fo. 17, VII.

For twoege, twoentigum, &c., cf. § 43.

*ē* appears as the umlaut of *ō* in suuēti 24. 1, west'n 3. 2; *æ* in wæst'n I 3. 17, wæst' 5. 16; *oeo*, due probably to a scribal error, in doeomo 19. 22.

II. *œ* is also the umlaut of *ō* from WG. *ā* before nasals (§ 16): cuoen I 7. 8, portcuoen 7. 37, woen 20. 13, woenes



1. 66, woende 3. 15; of  $\bar{o}$  from Gmc.  $a\eta$  and from  $an$  before voiceless spirants (§ 15, II and III): *oehtad* 11. 49, *oehtnise* I 4. 6, *smoeðum* 3. 5.

#### Umlaut of $\bar{u}$ .

§ 26. The umlaut of  $\bar{u}$  is  $\bar{y}$ : *bryd*(loppum) 17. 27, *bryd*(gum) I 5. 2, *bya* 10. 25, *gebydon* 11. 26, *nehebyrildas* 15. 9, *drygi* 23. 31 (besides *drugi* I 5. 4), *fyr* 9. 45, *gehydeð* 13. 21, *ryne* I 3. 3, *geryno* I 11. 2, *intynde* 3. 20, *untyn* 13. 25, *lytel* 12. 32, &c. (S., *Beit.* 10. 504).

$y$  is likewise the umlaut of  $\bar{u}$  lengthened to  $\bar{u}$  after the falling out of the nasal before a voiceless spirant (§§ 5; 66, II): *cyððo* 1. 61, *cydde* I 7. 11, *cyðnise* 22. 20, *yðana* 21. 25.

*ðyrl* 18. 25 shows secondary lengthening (EB. 529; S. 218, 1; <\**pyrhil*).

#### Umlaut of WG. $ai$ , OE. $\bar{a}$ .

§ 27. The umlaut of WG.  $ai$ , OE.  $\bar{a}$ , is regularly  $\bar{æ}$ : *æ* 16. 16, *ælc* 11. 42, *aes* I 2. 10, *æghuoelcum* I 2. 9 (besides *eg-*, cf. below), *æfra* 13. 11, *ænig* 8. 51, *ær* 2. 26, *æríst* 14. 28, *æterna* 3. 7, *bæm* 7. 42, *oferbrædde* 9. 34, *cægo* 11. 52, *clæn* 8. 10, *clænsunge* 5. 14, *dæl* I 1. 1, *dælde* 15. 12, *gedæla* 12. 13, *forgældon* I 3. 8, *hælo* 19. 8, *hælend* 2. 11, &c., *haeses* 3. 1, *haesere* 9. 49, *hæðin* 17. 16, (*dæg*)*huæm* 16. 19, *hwæm* I 2. 13, *huæte* 3. 17, *huætes* 12. 42, *læde* I 8. 20, *tolæda* 18. 40, *gehlaefde* 9. 17, *oferhlæfe* 11. 41, *læres* 20. 21, *lærend* 13. 20, *læðdon* 1. 71, *læs* 12. 58 (besides *leasa*, &c.; cf. § 30, note), *mændon* 8. 52, *mærum* 14. 21, *ræceð* 11. 12, *hræs* 8. 23 (Zeuner 14; Lea 42; Björkman, p. 96 and notes; Fo. 17; but Cos. 57 classes the word under WG.  $a$  = Gmc.  $\bar{a}$ ), *sæs* I 5. 1 (cf. § 53, IV), *stænað* 13. 34, *tæcnað* I 8. 3, *tuæm* 9. 16, *þæm* 24. 1, *ðær* 11. 32, *ðære* 1. 27, *wræððo* 21. 23 (besides *wraðe* 3. 7, *wraðo* 4. 28), *ællefno* 24. 33 (with shortening, EB. 337; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 75).



The ē in eghwelc 2. 23, eghuer 9. 6, eghuonan 19. 43, egðer 5. 38, elcur 5. 36, is explained as due to the following palatal in EB. 167, anm.; ē appears also in ðem (ds.) 14. 23; e in enne 15. 4 (together with shortening, S. 324; EB. 170, anm.; 337), (geneo)lecað 21. 20 (the shortening and weakening of e being due here to the weak accent of the second member of the compound, cf. EB. 427, b, besides geneolaceð 21. 28, cf. § 57, II).

eæ occurs in ðeæm I 9. 4.

Loan-words: cæseres I 10. 8 (besides caseres 20. 24), cæsering I 8. 16, ðræl 12. 43 (KL., NStB. 18; Björkman, p. 39). e occurs in cessares 2. 1.

#### Umlaut of WG. au, OE. ea.

§ 28. OE. ea, from WG. au, has as its umlaut ē: gebega 9. 58, ceping I 5. 3, degla 8. 17, indepe 16. 24, gedeðed 23. 32, geece I 9. 5, togeecde 19. 11 (Cos. 12; Kal. 61, c; Fo. 17, VIII), eðnise I 9. 6, eðmodo 1. 52, gemnise 10. 34, henes 10. 16, ahéned 21. 24, gehena 23. 2, hero 15. 29, gelefanne 24. 25, gelefde I 5. 20, gelemen 14. 19, hlega 6. 16, legere 6. 42, legeð 11. 36, legeðslæht 10. 18, lesing 1. 68, nedon 24. 29, genéd 14. 23, netne 10. 34, semað 11. 46.

gesene 10. 31 belongs here if it is <\*sa(g)wnia (Fü. 17, VII; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 76; but cf. also S. 222, 2; Lea 60).

breting 24. 35 may belong here or to § 6 (cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 76, anm.).

For ē before a palatal vowel, ei is always found in the verb ceiga: ceigeð I 5. 7, ceiganne 5. 32, ceigd 8. 8, &c. (cf. § 14).

#### Umlaut of WG. eu, iu.

§ 29. As Gmc. eu when followed by i, j, became in WG. iu, and this in North. became io, while Gmc. eu not followed by i, j, >WG. eu, North. eo (ea), we cannot consider North. io as the OE. umlaut of eo (for examples, cf. § 13, II).

A possible exception is found in *hriofol* 5. 15, *hriofle* 5. 12, which *S.*, *Ags. Voc.*, p. 31, gives as < \*hreufuli.

#### The u-, o/a-umlaut.

§ 30. For the general treatment of the u-, o/a-umlaut, cf. *S.* 101-107; 160 (1), (2), (3); *EB.* 226-229. It affects the vowels e and i in North., and usually takes effect only over a simple consonant, though in some cases it occurs before double consonants or *nd* (*EB.* 244, 246, 247, 249). It is caused by the vowel either of a derivative or of an inflectional syllable, being less uniformly carried out in the latter case owing to the analogy of unumlauted forms.

Note.—While u-, o/a-umlaut does not affect a in North., there are a few instances where it apparently affects æ: the ea instead of æ in *leasa* 7. 28, *leasan* 9. 48, *leassest* 12. 26, is explained as due to shortening and o/a-umlaut in *EB.* 336, 246; in *gegeadred* I 4. 10, *ætgeadre* 7. 49, &c.; *Bülbring* (*Angl. Beibl.* 9. 76 ff.; *EB.* 251) considers ea to be due to o/a-umlaut acting upon analogical æ; but cf. § 50. In the same way, *feallo* I 8. 3 may be caused by o/a-umlaut acting after the i-umlaut (cf. *faell* § 22, V). But as this is the only instance of the diphthong in this word, it is more probably due to a scribal error (cf. § 22, V).

*ondsuearum* 2. 47 I cannot explain, except as u-umlaut of æ standing for a (cf. *ondsuarum* 20. 26, § 1, II (a)).

The u-, o/a-umlaut of æ, working over *st* appears in *gefeast* 12. 48 (*EB.* 250, 251), and possibly in *feastern* I 4. 11 (besides the usual form *fæstern*, cf. § 22, I (c)).

Whether *hondbeafton* 7. 32 (besides *hondbaeftadon*, v. § 1, I (b)) may be similarly explained is uncertain; I do not find any other instances noted where the o/a-umlaut is exerted over *ft*; but cf. also § 53, VII, for this word.

§ 31. (a) e becomes eo through the original u of a derivative suffix; this is true also when the quality of the umlauting vowel has changed, or when syncope has come in later: *heofon* 10. 15, *heofna* 21. 26 (once without umlaut, *hefon* 4. 25), *seofon* I 4. 9, *seofa* I 7. 11, *unseo-funtigum* I 6. 14.



ea occurs in *seatlas* 11. 43, 20. 46, where the *l* is syllabic; cf. *seatul* in *Matthew* 23. 2.

(b) *e* > *eo* through the original *u* of an inflectional syllable: *gebeodo* 1. 13, *feolo* 5. 15, *heono* 23. 15, *meolo* 13. 21; *ea* in *gebeadum* 2. 37, *fealo* 12. 48, *geafa* 2. 40, *geafum* 21. 5 (never *eo* in this word).

(c) *o/a*-umlaut of *e* appears as *ea* in *bearanne* 23. 36, *gebeara* 10. 4, *eatta* 8. 55, *eattas* 10. 7 (besides *ettas* 5. 30), *forgeafa* 5. 21, *forgeafanne* 10. 12 (without the umlaut are the ind. pl. *forgefæs* 11. 4, and *forgef'* 11. 4), *ongeatta* 24. 16.

*gespreacca* 5. 4 is the only instance in *L.* of this umlaut before a palatal consonant (cf. § 33 ff.).

In *sealla* 8. 55, *seallað* 21. 12, &c. (besides *sellas* 21. 12), the *o/a*-umlaut acts upon *e* over the double consonant (EB. 247).

*eo* appears only in *eotað* 5. 33.

§ 32. (a) *i* > *io* through the original *u* of a derivative suffix: *cliopade* 8. 28, *cliopado* I 10. 4, *clioppado* 23. 21, *hlionade* 7. 37, *gehlionade* 7. 36 (besides *gehlinade* 22. 14), *ðionne* 12. 5 (<\*ðisuna, S. 105, anm. 8).

(b) *i* > *io* through the original *u* of an inflectional syllable: *gebiodon* 2. 38, *nedniomo* 18. 11, *sciolon* 13. 5, *sciole* 13. 3 (cf. S., *Ags. Voc.*, p. 27, note 3), *scioppo* 5. 11, *sciopum* I 4. 17, *gebearscliopum* 20. 46, *wrioto* 24. 45, *gewriotto* 24. 32, *gewuriotum* 24. 27.

(c) *o/a*-umlaut of *i* appears as *io* in *hliongende* 7. 49 (besides *hlingende* 5. 29, *hlingendum* 5. 29), *niomað* 4. 11, *nioma* 22. 36 (opt. sing.), *niomanne* 11. 54, *niomand* 5. 10, *niomande* I 9. 10, *hriopað* 12. 24, *hiora* 1. 16.

*ia* instead of *io* in *hiara* 23. 1, *bihianda* 7. 38 (where the umlaut exerts its influence over *nd*); *eo* in *heona* 4. 9, 13. 31, 16. 26.

In *soðða*, the *i* disappeared after the umlauting, which has taken place over the double consonant (EB. 246, 328).

## The so-called Palatal Umlaut.

§ 33. For the importance in North. of the phenomena falling under this head, cf. S. 108, f; 161 ff.; EB. 193-211, 305 ff.

The arrangement in S. 161-165 will here be followed, to the neglect of the distinction made by Bülbring between true 'palatal umlaut' (EB. 209; Angl. Beibl. 10. p. 1 ff.) and 'Ebnung' or 'smoothing' (EB. 193, anm.).

§ 34. ea is simplified to æ before h, ht, x (= hs): æhto I 8. 2, æhto 13. 4, legeðslæht 10. 18, mæht 1. 35, mæhto I 6. 11, mæhton 8. 19, næht 5. 5, næhtes 2. 8 (for the placing of mæht, næht, here rather than under i-umlaut, cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 78, anm. 2), gesæh 10. 18, gesaeh 9. 47, tæherum 7. 38, ðæhtung 7. 30, wæxað 12. 27, wæxbred 1. 63, awæhton 9. 32, awæht I 5. 8.

The e in tehrum, ehra, is probably due to i-umlaut (cf. § 22, IV); in aweht I 5. 11, to the analogy of the present forms; the a in ofslah (imp.) 18. 20 to the contracted forms in a (S. 162, anm. 3).

ea before rc, rg, appears as e in bergana 8. 32, bergas 15. 15, merce 16. 7, mercað I 9. 15, mercong I 1. 1, gemercade I 9. 15; as æ in ofermærcade I 6. 14, and in the loan-words ærce 17. 27 and caercherne I 4. 8.

§ 35. ēa > ē before c, g, h: ec I 10. 9 (with this one exception always æc in L., cf. below), becon 2. 2, becnade 8. 47, gebrēc 24. 43 (besides gebræc, cf. below), gebrece 1. 8 (with substitution of the vowel of the ind. for that of the opt.), ego 11. 34, egum 19. 42, heh 1. 78, hehsynne I 2. 3, lehtune 13. 19. In degelnise ē may be due to the influence of the following g, or it may belong under § 55, III.

æ appears in æc 13. 4, æc I 2. 11, gebræc I 11. 13, ðæh 17. 4; a in ðah 18. 4, 16. 31, ðahhueðre 6. 33 (in ðah and ðæh Bülbring assumes shortening, due to weakness of accent, Angl. Beibl. 9. 100; EB. 454; S. 163, anm. 1, gives ðah).



h before the voiced consonant has fallen out before causing simplification of the diphthong in *heanisum* I 10. 3, *heonisum* I 4. 1, *heanise* 5. 4, &c.

§ 36. *eo* > *e* before *h*, *x* (= *hs*), *ht*, *rc*, *rh*, and *c*: *feh* 8. 43, *geseh* 11. 35 (besides imp. *besæh*, cf. below), *sex* 4. 25, *sexdeih* 24. 13, *larcneht* I 2. 2, *nercsnawong* 23. 43, *feht* 14. 31, *gefehto* 21. 9, *reht* 13. 16, *unreht* 16. 10 (besides *unræhto*, cf. below), *werc* 17. 12 (forms with *æ*, v. § 41), *ðerh* 1. 70, *berhtnise* 2. 9, *recone* 4. 39, *gesprecca* 4. 41 (*gespreacca*, cf. § 31 (c)), (*erend*)*wreco* 7. 24, (-)*wrecum* I 5. 12.

*æ* is found in *cnæht* I 3. 17, *cnæhtas* 12. 45, *cnaehtum* 7. 32, &c. (*e* occurs only once in this word; for *larcneht*, cf. above), *fæes* 15. 12, *unræhto* 3. 5, *besæh* 9. 38, 18. 14 (cf. *Bülb.*, EB. 207—who, however, finds only *e* in *feh*—; the development in *fæes* would probably be *\*fehes* > *\*feohes* > *\*feahes* > *\*fæhes* > *fæes*; but there is also the possibility of *æ* being due to the labial influence of *f*, cf. § 41).

§ 37. *eo* > *ē* before *h*, *ht*, *g*: *fle/a* 8. 13, 21. 21 (cf. *Fü.* 19. 4), *flegendo* 8. 5, *legere* 6. 42, *neh* I 11. 1, *unneh* 19. 12, *leht* 11. 35, *cece* 6. 29 (?).

In *bituen* 22. 17, *Bülbring* (EB. 199; 147, a) sees the simplification of *ēo* (*ēu*) arising from the breaking of WG. *ī*; Sievers (*Ags. Voc.*, p. 35) considers it rather a product of contraction.

The simplification has not taken place in *geneoleceð* 12. 33, *geneolecte* 7. 12, &c., where *h* has fallen out at an early period before a voiced consonant (§§ 21; 76, II; cf. § 35).

§ 38. *io* > *i* before *h*, *ht*, *hð*, *rg*, *g*, *c*, *lc*: *æniht* 9. 36, *næniht* 23. 14, *gerihðe* (for *gerihte*) 3. 19, *gebirgað* 14. 24, *gesihðo* 1. 22, &c., *tuigo* 18. 32, *wico* 18. 12, *uica* I 11. 16, *halfewic* 10. 30, *gemilcadon* 23. 29, *astigon* 5. 19; *suira* 17. 2 belongs here according to EB. 262, *anm.*; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 91, *anm.*; *e* appears in *rehtanne* 1. 79, *gerehtad* 13. 13, *næneht* 23. 22, *gebergeð* 9. 27.



§ 39.  $\text{io} > \text{i}$  before  $h$ ,  $ht$ ,  $x$  (=  $hs$ ): *bitwih* 11. 51, *bituih* I 7. 13 (S., *Ags. Voc.*, p. 35), *lih* 11. 5, *wigbed* 11. 51 (<\**wiohbed*, S. § 222, *anm.* 1, cf. § 57, IV), *inlihte* 1. 79, *lixende* 24. 4, *licsendo* 16. 19, *inlixande* 23. 54.  
 $e$  appears in *inlehtað* 11. 36.

#### Influence of Labials.

§ 40. For the various writings of  $w$ , cf. *Bülb.*, *Angl. Beibl.* 10. 368 ff.; *EB.* 463; *Fo.* 20. In *L.* we find, besides the rune-sign (here represented by  $w$ ),  $wu$  ( $wu$ ),  $u$  ( $u$ ),  $uu$  ( $uu$ ),  $wo$  ( $wu$ ),  $o$  ( $o$ ). For examples, cf. § 61.

§ 41. Under the influence of  $w$ ,  $e$  is changed to  $æ$ : *cuoeða* 3. 8, 5. 23, &c., *cuoeðes* 18. 19, &c. (besides *cueðo* 3. 8, &c., without  $w$ -influence. For such variations in orthography as *cuoæðanne* 11. 83, *cuoæðað* 6. 26, *cuoaðas* 23. 29, &c., cf. *Paul*, *Beitr.* 6. 38; *Fü.* 20, I; S. 370, *anm.* 7), *cuoeden* 2. 17, *huoeðer* 5. 23, &c. (besides *hueðer* 6. 39), *huoeðre* 11. 8, *hoeðre* 22. 21, *suoeger* 12. 53 (besides *suegir* 12. 53, and *suær*, cf. § 43), *unwoeder* I 5. 18, *gewoeded* 1. 27, *gewoefen* I 4. 10, *woel* 12. 32 (otherwise always with  $e$  in *L.*), *woerca* I 2. 10, *woercmonn* 10. 7, *woer* 8. 38 (besides *wer* 2. 36), (*huoelc*)-*huoeges* 20. 38, *woeg* 3. 4, *woegum* 3. 5 (besides *weg* 7. 27—more frequently with  $e$ ), *woesta* 13. 29, *suoester* I 7. 1 (also *soest'* 10. 40, cf. § 61). For *coern*, cf. *Bülb.*, *Angl. Beibl.* 10. 371; *EB.* 287; *Lind.*<sup>2</sup> 91, c).

$We > wæ$  in *wæs* 18. 13, 19. 19, and possibly in *wællō*, *wælle*, &c. (cf. also § 22, I, note).

The same labial influence may be exerted by  $f$  in *fæes* 15. 12, but the development seems to me rather that indicated in § 36.

§ 42.  $e$  becomes  $æ$ : *efnegequoeccad* 20. 18, *gæcoecton* 6. 1 (cf. *cuacende* 8. 47), *tuoelf* 2. 42, *toelfo* 22. 14, *eghuoelc* 6. 47, *suoelce* 16. 1, *acuocella* 22. 2, *huoenne* 17. 20, *woende* 4. 10, *awoendad* 1. 56, *halwoendum* I 6. 2

(besides *halwende* 3. 6), *bewoeredon* 11. 52, *woerdende* 23. 2, *awoerda* 18. 16, *awoerdon* 20. 11 (besides *aweredon* 18. 9), *woergendum* 6. 28, *huoerf* 6. 35, *huoerflice* I 10. 6 (besides *huerf* 6. 34).

æ may be due to w-influence in *huælc* 9. 46, *suælc* 18. 11, *suælcæ* 11. 44 (EB. 168, anm. 2; Fo. 20, I).

§ 43. ē becomes æ: *cwoedon* 8. 24, *cwoeden* I 6. 5, *huoer* 8. 25 (more frequently without the w-influence, cf. § 6), *woe* 2. 15, *woede* 12. 23, *gewoedo* 23. 34 (besides *gewedo* 5. 36), *gewoedad* 12. 27 (besides *gewéded* 8. 25), *woepeno* 11. 22, *woepenberend* 11. 21 (besides *wepenberen* I 7. 5), *woeron* 12. 3 (*weron*, v. § 6; *wære*, v. below), *tuoē* 2. 24, *tuoēge* I 8. 15 (besides *tuege* 3. 11, and the unumlauted form *tuoē* 2. 24—three times), *tuoentigum* 14. 31. æ in the two last words is considered as the i-umlaut of o by Lind.<sup>2</sup> 73. æ occurs in *wære* 5. 12, cf. § 6. In *suær* 4. 38, æ may be due to the influence of w upon ē derived from contraction (§ 53, II).

§ 44. æ is changed to œ in *cwoeð* 16. 15, &c., *awoeht* I 5. 20, *awoehton* 8. 24; to o in *cwoð* 16. 3. According to the explanation of Bülbring, however, in *Angl. Beibl.* 10. 368, the vowel in the first instance is œ from ē brought over from the plural. In *awoeht* and *awoehton*, it is possible that we have the regular *woe* < *we*, since in North. the æ of the pret. and pret. part. is usually supplanted by the e of the pres.; e.g. *awęhton* 9. 32, *aweht* I 5. 11; æ appears in *awæht* I 5. 18.

§ 45. eo from breaking or u/o-umlaut is changed to o: *wosa* 3. 14, *wosanne* 2. 49, *worado* 13. 23, *worulde* 1. 55, *world* 18. 30, *woreldes* 20. 34, *wiðerworde* 12. 58, *suord* 2. 35, *geworpa* 11. 18, *worpanne* I 9. 14, *worðes* 1. 34, *gworða* 8. 12, *worðias* 16. 15.

§ 46. ea, whether from breaking or where ea = eo from u/o-umlaut, is changed to a: *walum* 8. 14, *waras* 22. 63, *warana* 14. 24, *wiðerwarde* I 9. 13, *onduarde* 3. 11, *erfeuard* 20. 14, *huarf* 24. 13, *awarp* 4. 35, *gewarð* 4. 42.



Here belong also, on account of the labial influence of *f*: *farnes* 14. 17, *farma* 5. 29, *fatrum* 8. 29, *farra* 23. 49.

*æ* instead of *a* occurs in *wæras* 9. 32, *wælum* 8. 14, *wælom* 16. 9, *geondwærde* I 10. 13, *towærd* 9. 44, *awærð* I 7. 18, *færma* I 11. 2, *færmum* 14. 8.

§ 47. *wio* becomes *wu*: *wuton* 11. 44, *wuttanne* 8. 10, *wuto* 7. 30, *utum* 11. 52, *utana* 1. 17, &c.

This *wu* is further developed to *wy* by *i*-umlaut (S. 156, 4; EB. 262): *wuyrso* 11. 26, *wyrðe* 3. 8, *wyrðo* 23. 41, *wyrðro* 14. 8.

For the *y* in *wynnes* I 2. 8, instead of *i*, cf. EB. 282.

§ 48. The groups *eow* and *iow*, whether from WG. *euw*, *iuw*, or from the problematical *w*-umlaut (EB. 255 ff.), are frequently written *ew* (*eo*, *eu*, *ea*) and *iw* (*iu*, *io*), which are probably only graphic shortenings of *euw*, *iuw* (S. 156, anm. 5; EB. 109, anm. 2; 110, anm. 2; 114, anm. 2; 256, anm.).

Examples: *cneuum* 5. 8, *oncneoum* 22. 41, *oncneu* 19. 44, *cneureso* 11. 50, *cneoreso* 9. 41, *feortih* 4. 2, *feor-siðam* 19. 8, *fearfald* 19. 8 (besides *feouer* 2. 37), *tree* 21. 29 (besides *tree* 6. 43, &c.), *treuana* 3. 9, *gehreues* 17. 4, *ðonagehrewun* 8. 26, *gehiuadne* I 9. 2, *oferhiuade* I 6. 8, *niua* 5. 37, *niue* 5. 36, *niwes* I 5. 3, *iuer* 21. 18, *iuer* 6. 22, *iweres* 12. 7, *giuiað* 11. 10, *giwende* I 7. 4 (EB. 256, anm.), *ðiwa* 1. 38, *ðiuað* 1. 48 (besides *ðiuiwas* 12. 45), *hiwuisc* 13. 25 (besides *hiogwuisic* 12. 39, cf. § 61).

*æw* appears in *hræwende* I 9. 4 (EB. 114, anm. 2); *eow* > *ow* in *gehrowun* 8. 23; *eaw* > *ew* (S. 156, anm. 3) in *smeung* I 5. 14, *smeunga* I 6. 10.

#### Influence of Preceding Palatals.

§ 49. For the importance of the phenomena falling under this head, cf. S. 74-76, 157; Bül., *Angl. Beibl.* 9. 98 ff.; 11. 80 ff.

Original *j*—written *g*, except in proper names—rarely

if ever produces diphthongization in North. For WS. gear, North. always has ger; e.g. in L. ger 3. 1, gero 13. 7.

For WS. pronoun gē, are found: ge (seven times), gē (three times), gee (once), gēe (twice), gie (190 times), giæ (once); the differences being perhaps only graphic.

For WS. giu, geo, we find only gee (six times).

For WS. giet: get I 11. 19.

Original ju appears as giu in giungra 15. 12, as gi in ging 15. 23, gingesta 15. 12, gigoðe 18. 21. This looks as if in the last three instances the preceding vowel had caused diphthongization of i to iu, which then became i by the pushing forward of the accent and dropping of the second vowel (\*gung > \*giúng > \*giung > ging). In the comparative and superlative, giungra, gingesta, there is, to be sure, the possibility of i-umlaut; in which case the palatal would be responsible only for the change of y to i in gingesta, and from y to iu in giungra—iu being intermediate between y and i (S., Ags. Voc., p. 27, note, sees the direct influence of j upon u, in ging and gigoð; for the opposite view, cf. Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 9. 99 and EB. 307, c; Paul, Beitr. 6. 42, f; and S. himself earlier, Beitr. 9. 207; 566, f).

Note.—The gi in giungra, gie (and presumably in giæ), Lind.<sup>2</sup> 61 considers as merely denotations of the j-sound.

§ 50. Palatal c and g (ć, ġ) sometimes cause diphthongization of æ (WG. a) to ea (eæ): ongeagn 19. 30, ætgeadre 7. 49 (besides ætgædre 23. 18), gegeadred I 4. 10, ætgeædre 23. 48, geafel 20. 22 (besides gæfel I 10. 8), ceafertun 11. 21 (besides cæfertune 22. 55).

For the possibility of gegeadred, &c., being due to u-umlaut, cf. § 30, note.

May not agef 4. 20 (cf. § 1, I, (c)) belong here?—agæf > ageáf > ageáf > agef.

Loan-words: ceastre 14. 21, ceastra, I 2. 1, &c.



Diphthongization of *o* after *g* regularly appears in *geong* 2. 44, *geongom* 3. 5, *geongas* 3. 4, *bigeonle* (scribal error for *bigeonge*), 13. 7.

§ 51. *s* may exert a palatalizing influence in *sileð* I 6. 14 (cf. EB. 304, Fū. 21, 6).

§ 52. After *sc* the following changes frequently take place:

(a) *æ* or *a* to *ea*: *scealde* 9. 31, *esceapa* 5. 36, *sceattas* 15. 8, *sceaðum* I 11. 7, *morsceaða* 23. 33, *asceaccað* 9. 5.

(b) *o* (= WG. *a* before a nasal) to *eo*: *sceoma* 3. 14, *sceomigo* 16. 3, *sceomade* 18. 2 (= Got. *skaman*).

(c) *o* to *eo*: *sceortiga* 22. 32 (besides *unscortende* 12. 33).

(d) *ā* (= WG. *ai*) to *ēa*: *sceadas* 6. 22, *gescead* 12. 51, *gesceaden* 13. 11, *gescean* 9. 29, *ymscean* 2. 9.

(e) *ē* (= WG. *ā*) appears as *i* in *scip* 15. 6, *scipes* I 8. 16, &c. (EB. 154).

(f) *ō* > *ēo*: *sceowum* I 4. 7, *sceoea* 3. 16, *sceoe* 10. 4 (but *sceoum* 22. 35, *sceoeas* 15. 22, showing *i*-umlaut of *ō*; cf. Got. *skohs* and *gaskohi*).

(g) after *sc* and *scr*, *u* is changed to *y*, *iu*, in *scyldrum* 15. 5, *gescryncan* I 8. 4 (where, however, it may be due to *i*-umlaut, cf. § 55, II), *gescriuncan* 6. 6; *ū* is changed to *yū* in *scyur* 12. 54.

*scu* remains in *scua* I. 79. For the group *scu*, *scru*, cf. S., *Ags. Voc.*, p. 27, note.

#### Contraction.

§ 53. I. Original *ah* + vowel becomes *ēa*, *ā*, *æ*. *ēa*: *gefea* I 4. 1, *tearum* 7. 44, *tearum* I 5. 14 (without contraction are *tæherum* 7. 38, cf. § 34, *tehrum* 7. 44, cf. § 22, IV); *ā*: *slaa* 12. 45, *geslās* 22. 49, *geslaa* 18. 13; *æ*: *ofslæ* (infin.) 20. 14, *ofslæs* 18. 33, *ofslæð* 11. 49, *ofslæð* 12. 5.

*ðuo*, *ðo*, may be merely graphic variants of *ðw* (cf. § 40) in: *geðuoa* 7. 38, *aðoað* I 5. 14, *aðoa* 7. 38; but cf. Fū. 22, 1.



II. eh + guttural vowel appears regularly as ēa: gefea I 6. 17, gefeande 22. 5, gefeade 1. 41, seas 24. 39, geseað 10. 24, geseanne 9. 9, hundteantig 8. 8, tea I 9. 8; but also tene I 8. 2, tenum 14. 31, teum 14. 31.

eh + e normally appears as ē (S. 166, anm. 2): geseen 19. 37, swer I 4. 16; but we also find gesii 18. 41, gesea 2. 15, suær 4. 38. The ē may be due to the influence of w in the last word, cf. § 43.

eh + guttural vowel becomes ēa: fleað 8. 13, geflea 3. 7.

eh + e(i) gives ē: neesta 10. 36, nesta 18. 5, neste 10. 27, hera 22. 26; ē in hæsta 8. 28; for ēi in heiste 1. 32, heista 1. 76, heigsta I 11. 17, &c., cf. § 14.

e + w appears as ēa in ðeadam I 10. 16, ēo in tréo 13. 19; but oftener ē: tree 6. 43, trees I 9. 6, &c. (besides treuana 3. 9).

e + e(i) gives ē: éce I 9. 16, éco 16. 9 (<\*e(j) ici, EB. 217), edo 2. 8, edæ 12. 32 (<\*e(w)idæ, EB. 217); æ in æce 10. 25.

III. ih + original i appears as ī: gesiist 6. 41, 7. 44, gesiis 6. 42.

ih + guttural vowel appears as ia in tuiade 9. 7.

The treatment of i + guttural vowel varies greatly (S. 166, 5, anm. 6, 7; EB. 118). iu appears in ðiu 6. 17 (five times); io in hio 8. 50, ðio, ðrio 12. 52, bio (bread) 24. 42, friond 11. 6, fiondes 10. 19, fionda 1. 74, biom 9. 41, 16. 4 (<\*bijum, EB. 118); ia in gefiadon 19. 14; ea in ðreana 10. 36, ðrea 9. 33, hundneantig 15. 7, eade 4. 42, eadon 7. 11, &c. (<\*ijo-da, EB. 118; but cf. also S. 114, anm. 1); eo in freondas 7. 6, freond 7. 34, hundneontig 15. 4, ðreo 11. 5, gefreod 12. 5, eode 1. 9, &c.

Loan-words: diacon 10. 32, dioblas 2. 49, diab' 4. 5.

i + i appears as ī: ðrím 4. 25, ðríim I 3. 16, ðriim 1. 56.

i + e appears as ie, ē: sie (twenty-one times), sée 12. 56, sé 4. 3.

bituen 22. 17 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 35; but cf. § 37).

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IV.  $\bar{a}$ +vowel appears as  $\bar{a}$  in *geas* 12, 32, *geaþ* 7, 8, &c. (EB. 215;  $\bar{a}$  *lex.* 16, 15, *ss* 21, 25, *st* 17, 2, &c.

V.  $\bar{o}$ +vowel appears as  $\bar{o}$ : *do* 10, 28, *do* 10, 37, *don* 6, 9, *doend* 4, 1, *donas* 30, 21, *onfoeþ* 6, 43, *onfoamne* 6, 34, *hoendum* (for the forms in which the ending is brought in again analogically, cf. S. 119, *anm.* 1), *woe* 23, 41.

VI. *u*+vowel remains unchanged: *buendo* 30, 14, *buendum* I 10, 7.

VII. *scu* 1, 79. When an unaccented precedes an accented vowel, the former is elided: *bura* 13, 28, *getta* I 3, 8, *næfre* 15, 29. Sometimes the initial consonant of the accented word is lost, but instances of this kind are comparatively rare in L.: *nere* I 3, 9, *næbbende* 3, 11, *noht* 10, 19, *næniht* 23, 14, *oht(rippe)* 10, 2, *nallo* 19, 14, *nellaþ* 6, 37, *nællaþ* 6, 37, &c.

The scribe in L. often prefers to keep the unaccented vowel: *neoht* 23, 22, *ne ænig* I, 61, &c. (nineteen times, never *nænig*), *ne ænigmonn* 15, 16, &c.

*Hondbeftadon* belongs here, if the derivation suggested by Lind.<sup>2</sup> 99, *anm.*, is correct: *be-afton* (cf. NED. *beft*); the puzzling form *hondbeafton* 7, 32 would then be accounted for by the retention of the unaccented vowel (cf. § 30, note).

### Variations in Quantity.

§ 54. I. Final vowels of stressed monosyllabic words appear as long in: *mé* 22, 67, *nó* 20, 22, *nú* 6, 25, *þá* 15, 7, 17, 24, 7, 2, &c., *þú* 19, 42, 22, 32, *þé* 15, 29, *gée* 8, 25, 22, 67, *wóe* 23, 41.

II. There is a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a consonant: *gód* 24, 53, *hám* 7, 10, *hís* I 3, 8, *méc* 22, 53, *mín* 16, 3, *ón* 21, 31, *þéc* 23, 37, *þes* 16, 25. This is true also of the prefixes *on-* and *un-*: *ónmeroung*

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20. 24, úneaðe 18. 24, úngelefendum 24. 41, únmahtigo 18. 27, &c.

III. Lengthening frequently takes place before certain consonant combinations; (*a*) before a nasal + consonant: fánd 15. 9, grúnd 14. 29, hónd 13. 13, lónd 17. 31, onféng 18. 31, gebánd 13. 16, sténne 23. 56. Lengthening is perhaps indicated by the doubling of the vowel in druuncen 21. 34; (*b*) before r + consonant: wórd 20. 20, mérne 13. 32, (*c*) before l + consonant: ðýld 21. 19, gesáld 18. 32, 21. 16, 24. 7.

## B. THE VOWELS OF UNSTRESSED AND OF SECONDARILY STRESSED SYLLABLES

### CHAPTER V. SUFFIXES, PREFIXES, COMPOUND WORDS, MEDIAL VOWELS

#### Suffixal Ablaut and later changes in Derivative Syllables.

§ 55. I. The original neuter suffix -os, -es, appears in OE. as r, or is lost altogether (S. 128, 1). The r appears in ehrs 6. 1, dogrum 2. 46, lombro 10. 3. Indications of the old e-grade survive in the umlauted forms: doeg 17. 22, ehrs (cf. above); the old o-grade in the unumlauted forms: dogrum 2. 46, lombro 10. 3.

Later changes in the old o-grade are seen in wuldur 2. 52, wuldor 4. 6, wulder 2. 32.

-ur (or) from the comparative ending -oz is seen in suiðor 5. 15, ufor 14. 10.

For acasa 3. 9, cf. S., Ags. Voc., p. 23.

II. The old gradation before n in the original suffix -ono-, -eno-, may be traced in the pret. part. of st. vbs.; those that have their stem-vowel umlauted showing in this the old e-grade, those without the umlaut showing the old o-grade (S. 128, 2). The following umlauted pret. parts. occur in Luke: ahefen 10. 15 (but cf. Fū. 24, II), geslægen 22. 7 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 24), awoerpen 20. 15.

The umlaut due to the suffix -in may also be seen in mægen 5. 17, 9. 1 (S., Ags. Voc., p. 23, and note), hæðin 17. 16.

The orig. Gmc. form of the suffix (IE. -eno-, Gmc. -ina-)



appears to survive in awrittinæ I 2. 5, hæðin (cf. above); these, however, may be mere scribal variations.

When not syncopated, and with the exception of hæðin and awrittinæ (cf. above), -in appears as -en: the pret. parts. and mægen noted above, also drihten I. 28, &c., linnenom 16. 19, mægden 8. 54.

Gmc. -an appears as -on: always in heofon 10. 15, &c., seofon I 4. 9, &c. (except seofa siða I 7. 11), recone 4. 39, &c., nigona 15. 4, &c.; as -an in wacan 12. 38; waccane 12. 38; as -en in most strong pret. parts. (§ 98 ff.), and in racentegum 8. 29 (cf. racanteg, Lind<sup>2</sup>. 103, b).

In gescryncan I 8. 4 the y is probably not due to i-umlaut, but to the influence of the preceding scr (§ 52 (g)), and the suffix survives in its Gmc. form, unless -an is a scribal error for -en.

The original variation in the suffix may be shown in the unumlauted morgen 12. 28, and the umlauted merne 18. 33 (Lind<sup>2</sup>. 103, b).

For the secondary vowel before n, cf. 59, III.

III. The original suffix -olo, elo- (Gmc. -ala-, -ila-) (S. 128, 3). The old e-grade appears in idelhende 20. 10, cyrtel 22. 36, degelnise 11. 33 (but cf. § 35), lytel 12. 32, micel I. 15, oeðel I 4. 13, fotscoemel 20. 43, symbel 22. 1, yfel 6. 45. In ðyrl 18. 25, the i (e) is syncopated (S. 218, 1; EB. 529); -il remains in cyrtel 6. 29, idilende 20. 11, unless these are scribal variations.

Loan-words were sometimes changed according to the suffixal ablaut e existing in OE: ðæcilla 8. 16, &c. (S. 128, 3; Fñ. I. 2); engel I 3. 13, &c., shows by its umlaut the suffix -il varying with the -el of the Lat. angelus.

Gmc. -al appears as -ol in hriofol 5. 13 (<\*hreufuli, S., Ags. Voc., p. 31), gearwutol 19. 21; as -el in sawel 12. 29, sauelo 21. 19, &c., and in the loan-word diowel I 4. 16 (-ol of diabolus being regarded as a suffix).

For the secondary vowel before l, cf. § 59, II.

IV. The original suffix -oro-, -ero-. The old e-grade is



shown in the umlauted forms: *moederes* I 4. 5 (besides *moderes* I. 15, &c.), *froefernise* 6. 24 (besides *frofor* 2. 25).

Gmc. -ar (< -or) appears as -er in: *hueðer* 6. 39, *feouer* 2. 37, *summer* 21. 30, *oðero* 10. 55, *ofer* 12. 42, *under* 4. 27, *ðuneri* I 9. 10, *iuer* 11. 55, *iuerra* 17. 7, *userne*, 11. 3; as -or in *oðoro* 9. 26.

V. The suffix -ig, -ag. The two forms fell together as -ig before the differentiation of the dialects in OE., but traces of an old gradation are seen in the existence of forms with and without i-umlaut.

Umlauted forms are: *ænig* I 8. 15, *hefig* 18. 5, *menigo* 18. 4, &c. (besides *monigo* 7. 11, &c., cf. below), *syndrigo* 2. 3, *untrymigo* I 4. 19, *ellðiodig* 17. 18, *woestig*.

Without are: *eadig* 7. 23, *halig* I 2. 4, *monigo* 7. 11.

*gemyndigo* 17. 32, and *scyldigra* I. 5. 14, furnish no clue to the original form of the suffix since they are derived from umlauted substantives.

For *bærsynnig*, cf. *Lind.* 9, *anm.* 2.

-ig appears as -eg in *oferhygdego* 1. 51.

VI. The suffix -ud, -ed. There are no indications in Luke of the forms with Gmc. i. -ud appears in *heafud* (three times), -od in *heafod* 7. 46, -ad in *worado* 13. 23.

-ed appears in the loan-word *æcced* 23. 36.

-að occurs in *innaðes* 1. 42, *monaðe* 1. 26, *monaðum* 1. 56; -oð in *innoð* I 7. 7, -oð < -unþ in *fracoð* 16. 15, *gigoðe* 18. 21; -eð in *moneð* 1. 36, *moneðum* 1. 24, *legeð* 11. 36, *legeðslæht* 10. 18.

VII. Abstracts in -nis, -nes. The normal form in Luke is -nis(s), -nis(s)e; but -nes(s)e is found in *cyðneso* 18. 20, *onlicnessa* 4. 23, 20. 24, *onlicnese* 8. 4, *toslitnitnese* I 1. 13 (scribal error for *toslitnese*), *witneso* 18. 20, *witnessa* 22. 71.

VIII. The suffix -ung sometimes appears as -ing: *upphebbing* 8. 8, *ceping* I 5. 3, *ermingum* 4. 18, *eftlesing* 24. 21, *flowing* 8. 44, *forescending* 21. 25, *beorning* 1. 11, *breting* 24. 35, *iorning* I 5. 20, *groeting* 1. 41, *niming*

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I 5. 3, innawritting 20. 24, and in the loan-word cæsering I 8. 16, casering 15. 8; -ong in geddong 10. 7, ebolsongas 5. 21, costong I 4. 11; -eng in groeteng 1. 29, groetenges 1. 44, groetencgo 11. 43 (besides groeting 1. 41).

IX. Interchange of -en and -ern appears only in efernlocað 24. 59; the ending is abbreviated in fæst'num 2. 37, &c., woest'num 7. 24.

#### Prefixes.

§ 56. I. ge, gi. The normal form is ge; gi appears in Luke only in gispilde 15. 13, giónetað 13. 7. The anomalous form gæ appears in gæsended 1. 26. The loss of g is probably due to the preceding h in neheburas 1. 58; neheburum 15. 6; nehebyrildas 15. 9.

The e is syncopated in getta I 3. 8 (for ge-etta); æf-groefa 12. 58. It has fallen out through a scribal error in gdóm 12. 18; gfæstniað I 7. 19; gherdon 8. 18; gworða 8. 12.

II. be, bi. The normal form is be, but bi appears in bifærende 18. 36, bigenega 13. 7, bigeonle 13. 7, bihal-dendo 4. 20, bihianda 7. 38, bisuac 23. 11, bisuicen 21. 8, bituen 22. 17, bituih I 7. 13, bitwih 11. 51, biwærlas 11. 42, biwærle 10. 31.

e has fallen before a vowel in buta I 8. 2, &c.; and in blinn 4. 34, blinna 22. 51, if this is from \*bi-linnan (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 114; but Kl., PG. 390 considers it <\*ab-linnan; cf. Fo. 15, II).

III. fora, fore, for (usually abbreviated to f'a, f'e, f'). As a prefix, fora is met with only in Luke. It is used interchangeably with fore in the following instances: f'abrengað 21. 30, f'abreng 15. 22, and f'ebrohte 10. 35; f'aførde 19. 28, and f'eførde 22. 47; forasaga I 3. 11, and f'esaga I 9. 6. fore and for are used interchangeably in f'bead I 6. 10, f'budon 9. 49, f'beadæ 9. 50, and f'ebead I 9. 15; forðon and f'eðon 7. 47, 23. 8.



IV. æf, of. of is the usual form, but æf is used in æfdæll 19. 37, æfgroefa 12. 58, æfgroefe 12. 58, æfsæge I 8. 5. of is weakened to a in adune 19. 6, aduna 4. 9, &c.; it shows i-uml. in oefeste 1. 39, oefistade 19. 6, &c.

V. æt, ot. æt is the regular form, ot does not occur.

VI. ē=IDG. ē in erist I 10. 9, eristes 20. 36, eswico 13. 15, esuicnise 12. 1, ésceapa 5. 36.

VII. ond, on, un. Examples—ond-: ondetnise I 6. 17, ondfenges 9. 51, ondget 24. 45, ondspyrnende I 9. 4, ondsuere 2. 26, onduarde 3. 11, ondwlitto 22. 64; on-: onfenge 9. 10 (for ond-), ongete 24. 18, onsæccest 22. 34, onsione 1. 76, onsetnise 11. 50, onsuare I 9. 16 (for ond-); un-: unhal 7. 10, unsnytro 6. 11, unwoeder I 5. 18; on- is weakened to a- in: afearra 13. 27, agotten 5. 37, ageldas 20. 25, agemde 15. 19.

VIII. in, inn. The two forms appear interchangeably in infærende 8. 16, and innfærendum 22. 10; infoerdon 8. 33, and innfoerde 1. 9; ingað 22. 10, and inngreð 13. 25.

#### Second Members of Compounds.

§ 57. I. In consequence of bearing only a secondary accent, ea>o: wiðerworda 11. 18, geonduorde I 7. 7 (besides wiðeruarde I 9. 13, cf. § 46, geondwearde 12. 11, cf. § 19, I).

II. æ>e: berern 12. 24, bererno 12. 18, gestern 22. 11, hordern 12. 24. æ>e in geneolecað 21. 20 (EB. 427); a in geneolaceð 21. 28, -lacað 10. 11.

III. i>e: erest 20. 27, 20. 33 (besides erist I 10. 9), næneht 23. 22 (besides næniht 23. 14).

IV. Especially great changes (S. 43, anm.; Fñ. 26) take place in: ebolsað 12. 10, ebalsadon 22. 65, ebolsonga 5. 21 (<\*ef-halsian), fracoð 16. 15 (<\*fra-cuð, cf. also EB. 101, anm.), ful-tume 10. 40 (<\*ful-tēam), hiorodes 2. 13, hirodes 12. 39 (<\*hīw-rād), anlapum 4. 40 (<\*ānlēpe), laferd 16. 8, hlafard 18. 6 (<\*hlāf-weard), laruas 5. 17,

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laruum 22. 11 (<\*lār-ðēow?), geondetað 12. 8 (<\*ond-hatjan), wigbed 11. 51 (<\*wih-bēod), worulde 1. 55, world 18. 30 (<\*wer-ald, Fū. 26).

V. *y* is weakened to *i* in oefistade 19. 6, oefistande 2. 16; to *e* in oefeste 1. 39, oefesta 19. 5 (<\*ab-unsti, EB. 101, ann. 3).

VI. Original *ī* has disappeared in ælc 11. 43, ælces I 1. 1, huelc 7. 42, suælce 18. 11; *ī* in noht 10. 19, &c., tuoelf 2. 42, &c., ohtrippe 10. 2 (?).

### Medial Vowels.

#### *Epenthetic or Secondary Vowels.*

§ 58. The laws for the treatment of final vowels are the same for North. as for WS. since they were in effect before the differentiation of the dialects. They are to be found in full in S. 130-160, Kaluza 73. I shall therefore treat here only of the further changes that take place in the endings of words in consequence of the apocope of final vowels, i. e. the insertion of epenthetic or secondary vowels.

§ 59. If a mute, followed by a liquid or a nasal, appears at the end of a syllable, by a common phonetic law the liquid or nasal becomes vocalic. In OE., however, a secondary vowel is often developed out of and before the liquid or nasal. The quality of the secondary vowel generally appears to depend upon that of the vowel of the preceding syllable (S. 139).

I. A vowel regularly appears before *r*, generally *e* if the preceding syllable contains a palatal vowel, and *o*, *u*, if a guttural. -or: aldor 11. 15, morðor 23. 19, wundorlice 13. 17, and the loan-word ombor 22. 10; -ur: wuldur 2. 52; -er: hider 16. 26, ðidder 24. 48, tæherum 7. 38, wæter 7. 44 (? S. 243; Kl., NStB. 92; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 106, a), suoeger 12. 52, and with -er following a guttural vowel: hunger 4. 25, ðuneri I 9. 10, wulder I 4. 1.

II. Before l: apoltre 6. 22, fugul 13. 34, symbol I 8. 13, and the loan-word tempeles 23. 45. The secondary vowel fails to appear in fuglas I 7. 15, symbles 13. 14.

III. Before n. After short syllables, syllabic n usually remains unchanged, but secondary e always appears in bisen I 5. 4, biseno 8. 11, &c.; after long syllables, the secondary vowel always appears: becom 2. 12, facen 20. 23, tacon 2. 12, wolcen 9. 34.

IV. Syllabic m remains unchanged in wæstm 1. 42.

For the development of a vowel between r and g, l and g, cf. § 80.

### *Syncope of Middle Vowels.*

§ 60. After long radical vowels in trisyllabic words, original short middle vowels are regularly syncopeated, unless protected by position (S. 144, a).

Examples: I. Before l: degle 8. 17, hriofle 5. 12, idlo I 9. 7, 1. 53, lytle I 8. 7, lytlum 16. 10, sawle 12. 19.

Loan-words: diofles I 4. 11, dioblas 8. 33, englas 2. 15, engla 9. 26.

Exceptions: lytelum 16. 10, sauela I 10. 15, sauelo 21. 19.

II. Before r: allra 1. 71, iura 6. 23, oðre 7. 8, usra 20. 14, sucestro 14. 26, broðro 8. 19, dogrum 2. 46.

Exceptions: moderes 1. 15, moederes I 4. 5, oðora (dsf.) 5. 7.

The secondary vowel is not developed after a long radical syllable: fingre 11. 46, hungro 21. 11, wintra I 2. 4, wundrum I 8. 5, wuldro 4. 22.

Exception: fingeres 16. 24.

III. Before n: the inflected pret. part. in -en: ge-wordne I 3. 4, f'letno 5. 11, f'letnum I 9. 17, awordna 10. 13; also in drihtnes I 3. 5, drihtne 1. 16, &c.; hædnō 12. 30, hæðnum 18. 32, &c.; mægdne I 6. 1, netne 10. 34.



Unsyncopated: f'leteno 16. 18, awordeno 4. 23 (S. 144, b).

The secondary vowel is not developed in the interior of the word in wolcne I 10. 16, becne I 3. 11, becnende 1. 22. It is found in beceno 21. 11, woepeno 11. 22.

Unsyncopated forms sometimes occur in the pret. part., where they are contrary to the rule: druncene I 10. 18, awordeno (npf.) 10. 13.

IV. Before d, ð: for examples of syncope in the prets. of weak verbs, Class I, cf. § 105, 2 (b): dælde 15. 12, aǵemde I 5. 19, &c.; also in heafdes 7. 38, heafde 21. 18, heafda 21. 28, cyððo 1. 61, wræððo 21. 23.

Exceptions: inteledon 20. 20, aweredon 18. 9.

V. Before g: ængum 4. 26, eadgo 6. 20, halges 2. 42, witges 3. 4, witge 7. 28, scildge 11. 4.

Many exceptions occur among the adjectives in -ig: æniges 12. 15, ænigum 9. 21, mæhtigo 1. 52, 18. 27, woestigum 4. 42, eadigo 1. 45.

VI. Position protects against syncope: adjectives in -isc: bebbisca 18. 37, menniscs I 2. 16.

Substantives in -en, -enne: brygenne 23. 53; byrgenna 11. 44.

Substantives in -ere (-are), where -re < rj; cf. Lat. words in -arius (ario-) and Got. -areis: bodare 9. 33, doemere 12. 58, ettere 7. 34, legere 6. 42, fiscaras 5. 2.

Superlatives: ældesto 22. 52, ældestum 9. 22, gingesta 15. 12, and other superlatives (cf. § 130). An exception is found in heigsta I 11. 17.

VII. After short syllables the middle vowel is regularly retained, although occasionally syncope comes in, especially before l: cyrtlas 3. 11, 9. 3, miclo 2. 9, 4. 33, miclum 23. 23, yfla 6. 43, yfles I 7. 17, yflum 6. 35.

Before r: ehras 6. 1, tehrum 7. 44.

Before n: heofnes I 10. 16, heofna 21. 26, and the pret. parts. begetne I 8. 16, gecuoedno 19. 28, awritne I 6. 17.

Before m: hlætmosto 14. 9, 10, &c.

Before ð: fremðe 24. 18, gesihðo 1. 22, &c.

## C. CONSONANTS

### CHAPTER VI. THE SEMI-VOWELS

#### w.

§ 61. For the half-vowel w, in the MS., the rune-sign and u are employed; the rune-sign is here represented by w. uu and wu are also used for w; and, on the other hand, they both sometimes = ū, as in wuðuto 5. 21, wuteard 11. 40 (Lea 80, Fū. 29, but cf. also Fo. 29). Examples of the various signs employed for w—w: ðrowung 9. 23, sawle 12. 19; u: laruas 5. 17; uu: ges<sup>u</sup>uincgde 12. 47; wu: geswuing 12. 48, aw<sup>u</sup>riað 23. 30.

Initially, w is sometimes unexpressed, or u = wu, o = wo, or w (cf. § 40): ulfum 10. 3, undrandum 9. 43, aundrad 7. 9, (uð)utto 23. 10, coen 11. 31, coeðes 22. 11, coeð 9. 59, coæðanne 11. 38, coeðende 22. 19, gecoecton 6. 1, hoeðre 22. 21, coern 12. 2, soest' 10. 40, toelfo 22. 14, aðoað I 5. 14, aðoa 7. 38 (Bülb., Angl. Beibl. 10. 368; EB. 463; S. 172, anm.).

I. (a) Initially, w appears before all vowels: wacana 2. 8, wæccæs 21. 36, woel 12. 32, wer 2. 36, wind 8. 24, worðes 1. 34, wuna 24. 29.

(b) In the combinations wr, wl: wraco 9. 12, wrað 14. 21, writtra I 3. 3, wloncas 12. 16, (mæg)wlit 9. 29.

(c) In the combinations cw, dw, hw, sw, tw, ðw: cualmum 7. 21, forduineð 14. 34, huil 4. 5, swigdon 23. 56, suin 15. 16, tuigo 18. 12, bitwih 11. 51, uongas 3. 16, geðuoge 7. 46.

Note 1.—Initial w is lost in certain words that contracted with the negative particle ne: nallo 19. 14, nelle 14. 12, nere I 3. 9, neht 23.

22, ænight 20. 40, næniht 23. 4; also in sulh 9. 62 (EB. 464, b), hu 24. 6, tuu 10. 17, hlaferd 16. 8. The following are probably mere scribal errors: the loss of w from the combination hw in daghæm 19. 47, f'hon 5. 30; the addition of w in woxo 13. 15, wyflo 16. 25; and the use of w for h in wyniges I 11. 14.

II. (a) Medial w stands before all vowels except u and Prim. OE. i: stowe 2. 7, stowa 11. 24, saweð 8. 5, fulwa 3. 16, laruas 5. 17; it is however lost in gehoræd 18. 32.

(b) It is lost before u: cueoum 22. 41, oncneaun 2. 50, giunga I 7. 2, ðrounges I 11. 5, ðroung 14. 27, sceaunde 22. 56, smeunga 6. 8; but is brought back analogically in ðrowung 9. 23, hrowundum 8. 23, gehrowun 8. 23.

For the inorganic w in smeawung 12. 25, smeawungas 11. 17, cf. Fo. 29.

(c) Before i: æ 16. 16, sæ 17. 2, sæs I 5. 18, gegerela 23. 11, smiriniſe 7. 37, gesmiride 4. 18.

Note 2.—w following a velar cons. disappeared medially in OE. as in the other WG. languages, but the North. verb genehwa presents an unexplained exception to this rule; genehuað 16. 13, genehuade 15. 15, efnegenehuade 23. 51.

Note 3.—Medial w appears to be vocalized in ceaolas 9. 17, unless here o = w.

Note 4.—w is used to bridge the hiatus in sceowum I 4. 7, gewunrotsad 18. 23 (unless wu = u); also in gefiweð 16. 13, gefreouad I 7. 74, where it replaces the lost j.

III. (a) Final w is combined with a preceding short vowel to form a diphthong: ðeadoſ I 10. 16, treo 13. 19 (but more often in Luke the w has fallen entirely in this word: tree 6. 43, trees I 9. 6).

(b) After a consonant it is vocalized and remains as u, o when the preceding syllable is short: olebearu 21. 37, nearo 13. 24, gearo 22. 33.

(c) After long vowels and diphthongs, w disappears: geðrea 17. 3, hreonise 15. 7 (four times without w). But in many words w has come back after the analogy



of the other inflectional forms: stow 6. 17, hreownise I 4. 7 (five times with w), oncneu 19. 44 (so generally in the pret. forms of the verb cnawa), ædeaude I 3. 13 (Fü. 29), sceawde 20. 23, sceawne 23. 48, treoufast 19. 17, getreoudon 18. 9 (EB. 467).

Final w is vocalized after a long vowel in hiorodes 2. 13 (<\*hīw-ræd, S. 43, anm. 4).

hiogwuisse is doubtful; hiiuisc 13. 25, 14. 21, 21. 11, would point to the ground-form hīw-. In this case the g is inorganic, and io may be on the analogy of hiorodes (cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 40, anm.; 122). Cook (Gl.) takes it to be from hīg-, a view that is supported by the word hīgo 2. 4, 12. 42, of similar meaning.

## j.

§ 62. I. Initial j is expressed by i in foreign proper names: iacobes 1. 33, iares I 5. 20, ioncs 11. 29, iudisca I 7. 10; by hi in hiē I 9. 18 (Jericho); otherwise it is written g: gife 12. 45, ger I 4. 6, gungra 15. 12.

II. Medial j is lost after a long closed syllable; for examples cf. § 105, I(b) (Tense-Formation of Wk. Vbs. Cl. I), and §§ 114, 115 (jo-, ja- stem nouns). It is lost also regularly between vowels: ece I 9. 16, eade 4. 42 (<ijo + da, EB. 118), freond 7. 34, fiondes 10. 19, gefreod I 8. 19, tuoera I 5. 14, ðrio- 12. 52 (besides ðriga 22. 61).

j is retained, written as g, between vowels in boege 1. 7, boego 1. 6, tuoge 2. 24, ðriga 22. 61, ceigeð I 5. 7, &c.; after a short vowel + r in herganne 19. 37, hergendo 2. 20, hergas 9. 18, hergum 11. 29.

For the i (ig) of wk. vbs. Cl. II, cf. S. 175, anm.

III. Final j is very rare: æg 11. 12, geceig 14. 13. It appears written as -eg in the imper. getrymeg 22. 32.



## CHAPTER VII. LIQUIDS AND NASALS

## r.

§ 63. I. r is frequent in all positions: ricu 4. 5, hrippe 12. 42, fruma 12. 12, seteras 20. 20, geher 4. 8.

II. Metathesis of medial r occurs (a) where r originally preceded a vowel followed by nn or s-combinations: berneð 15. 8, bernende 24. 32, etc. (cf. Got. brannjan); -ern in gestern 22. 11, berern 12. 24 (<\*rænni, <\*razn, cf. Got. razn), gærs 12. 28 (cf. græsum Mk. 4. 32), iornende I 2. 17, arn 15. 20 (cf. Got. rinnan), dærst 12. 1, ðurscon 22. 63, geðorscen 20. 10; also in ðirddan 24. 7, ðirdde 20. 12, &c. (cf. ðrida, John 21. 14); and perhaps forma 19. 16 (besides fruma I 2. 12), &c.; in this case however there may have been two parallel forms in Gmc.; cf. S. 179, 1; Fñ. 31, II; (b) where r originally followed the vowel and preceded ht: frohtendes I 4. 18, afryhtad 8. 23 (besides forhtiga 21. 2, forhtende I 11. 12, afyrhtad 12. 4).

III. r corresponds to Gmc. z in gecoren I 7. 1, forlure 15. 9, herganne 19. 37, hergendo 2. 20 (cf. Got. hazjan), betra 5. 39, betro 16. 8 (Got. batiza), mara 7. 28 (Got. maiza), earum 4. 21, eoro I 8. 15 (Got. auso); rr to Gmc. rz in ærrum 11. 26 (Got. airiza); rd to Gmc. zd in hordern 12. 24 (Got. huzd), meard 6. 35 (Got. mizdo).

IV. r has fallen in endebrednise I 2. 8 (cf. WS. on-bryrdnis), ældo 7. 30, ældum 9. 22 (besides aldoro 2. 43, aldrum 21. 16).

Assimilation of sr (<sz) to ss is simplified to s in leasa 7. 28, w<sup>y</sup>yrso 11. 26 (Got. wairsiza); sr (= Gmc. sr) > ss > s in uses 1. 78 (S. 336, anm. considers that the assimilation has not taken place in these forms), úsum 13. 26 (besides usra 1. 55, &c.), ðisa (dsf) 11. 50.

r is omitted through a scribal error in ymbwælde 9. 55. For grammatical change of r (<z) and s, cf. § 79.

## 1.

§ 64. l occurs in all positions in the word; it is frequently geminated: all 2. 1, selles 22. 48, &c.

Metathesis occurs in the suffixes -eld (<-idl <-ipl) and -els (cf. OHG. -isal): foereld 1. 36, roeceles 1. 9.

nl>ll in ællesno 24. 33, ællefnum 24. 9.

## m.

§ 65. m is met in all positions: mett 12. 23, smeade 12. 17; beam 6. 41; geminated in huommes 20. 17.

m has fallen out before the voiceless spirant in: fifo 12. 6, fif 7. 41, fiftih 16. 6.

## n.

§ 66. I. n has the force of a guttural nasal before c, g; in all other positions it denotes the dental nasal.

II. (a) n has dropped out with lengthening of the preceding vowel, before h in the Gmc. period, as in brohte 14. 20 (cf. § 15, III); in the OE. period before the voiceless spirants f, þ, s: cyððo 1. 61; cuðo 2. 44, oðer 22. 32, siðe 23. 22, muð 1. 64, pisum 15. 16, ús 13. 25, soð 16. 12, suiðe 9. 43; toðana 13. 28; uðwutto 22. 66 yðana 21. 25.

(b) n has dropped without lengthening in unaccented syllables: fracod 16. 15 (<\*fra-cūð), gigoðe 18. 21 (<\*jugunð); and in 3 pl. ind. of verbs, cf. Chap. XII, The Personal Endings of the Verb, §§ 81 ff.

(c) The dropping of the nasal does not take place if its position before the spirant has come about through syncope: clænsunges 2. 22.

III. (a) For the characteristic North. dropping of n in the infin., the pret. opt. pl., cf. §§ 81 ff.; in the oblique cases of weak nouns, cf. §§ 121, 122, 123; in adverbs, cf. § 131, VI. It is also dropped in seofa I 7. 11, in the verbal

forms: aro 24. 38, wero 16. 12, weoro I 9. 9; and by a scribal error in taco 2. 34.

(b) n is dropped between i and g in cynig 9. 7, &c.; but in all other forms than the nom., acc. sing., the full ending -ing appears: cyninges 1. 5, cuningas 22. 25, &c.

## CHAPTER VIII. LABIALS

### p.

§ 67. Initial p is rare in Gmc. words; it occurs in pæð 16. 26, 3. 5, priclom I 3. 6, plægade 7. 32; and in the following loan-words: pinia 8. 28, pisum 15. 16, pocca 9. 3, plæccum 14. 21, portcuoeue 7. 37, and in the compound heafodponna 23. 33.

Medially and finally it is more frequent: woepeno 11. 22, spilde 17. 27, scip 15. 6, &c.

Loan-words: discipul 6. 40, sinapis I 8. 6.

It is geminated in uppstigende 12. 54, geypped 12. 2, earlipprico 22. 50.

### b.

§ 68. I. b (Gmc. ð) is the sign for the labial media; initially it is common, but medially and finally appears only in gemination and in the combination mb; initially: bærlic I 3. 8, bano 24. 39, bed 5. 18, brededes I 11. 14, &c.; medially: hæbbend 7. 2, habbað 3. 8, &c. (simplified in habas 9. 3), sibbe 7. 50, sibbo 14. 12, lombro 10. 13; finally: sibb 1. 79, ymb 9. 12, &c.

bb is written pb in uppbeþbing I 10. 11, sipbade I 11. 12, and pp in sipp 8. 48.

b is merely a euphonic insertion in: symbles 13. 14, getimbras 11. 48, getimbrade 7. 5.

II. Gmc. ð is represented medially by f, which in this position has the sound-value of a labio-dental voiced

spirant: hæfo 17. 9, ofer 12. 42, stafum 23. 38, wifo 17. 27, hlafas 24. 35, gewoefen I 4. 10.

Loan-words: febere 4. 39, diobla I 7. 5. The labial media has become the labial semi-vowel in diowel I 4. 16, diwle 13. 32, &c.

III. Finally Gmc. *b* appears in OE. as *f*: fordraf I 4. 16, hlaf 4. 3.

## f.

§ 69. *f* is the sign for both the voiced and voiceless labio-dental spirant.

Initially it corresponds to Gmc. *f* and is voiceless: fingers 16. 24, fola I 10. 2; flod 17. 27, full 2. 40, &c. Medially it corresponds partly to Gmc. *þ* (cf. § 68, II, for examples); partly to Gmc. *f*: ulfum 10. 3, groefa 12. 58, heofon 10. 15, hefig 11. 7, ahefen 10. 15, fifo 1. 24, &c.

*f* geminated by *j* appears as *bb*: ahebba 18. 13, ahebbendum 6. 20.

*f* is used for *ph* in the foreign proper name ðeofi I 3. 11.

## CHAPTER IX. DENTALS

## t.

§ 70. The dental tenuis *t* occurs in all positions: tanas 23. 3, tido 21. 24, tuigo 18. 12, ceiste 7. 14, awrit 16. 7. It occurs geminated in byttum 5. 37, sittas 24. 49.

*d* is used for *t* in *æd* I 7. 3 (only time in the preposition); in composition *æd* always appears in Luke in the forms of *ædeaua* 6. 46, *ædgeædre* 23. 48 (besides *ætgeadre* 7. 49, *æthrineð* 16. 13, *æthran* 10. 11), *huæd* 12. 29 (fifty times, besides *huæt* 8. 9), *hlod* I 3. 4, *ondedende* I 11. 8, *unrod* I 9. 16, *sexdeih* 24. 13, *ðread* 6. 19; *td* in *huætd* I 7. 13; *dt* in *hlodti* 1. 9.

*tl* > *dl* in *sedle* 1. 52, *sedlo* 20. 46.

Loan-words: Latin *t* appears as *d* in *æcced* 23. 36.



## d.

§ 71. The dental media occurs in all positions: dom 10. 14, forduindeš 14. 34, bead 22. 30; geminated in biddo 8. 28, biddas 13. 24, &c.; for forms doubled by the scribe, cf. under Gemination, § 77.

d > t (a) before voiceless sounds: gitsare I 7. 14, git-sunge 12. 15, miltheart 6. 36, &c, miltsa 16. 24 (but d remains in mildsa 18. 39, and is lost altogether in milsa 17. 13, 18. 38). It is lost in hunteantig 8. 8. (b) after voiceless sounds, especially in the pret. of weak verbs Class I (cf. Inflection, § 105 (2)): geneolecte 7. 12, geboette I 7. 5, gecyste 22. 47, &c.

t is irregularly written for d in getdung I 7. 3, heart-breer 17. 6; and in the pret. parts. of the following weak verbs (cf. Inflection, §§ 97, 105 (3) (a)): gesettet 6. 48, sendet 1. 19, gelædet 23. 32, geendat 22. 22, &c.

ð is irregularly written for d in: beðon 8. 37, naroneðe I 8. 6, ðerneleger' 15. 13, geondetað 12. 8; and in the foreign proper names: soðomom 10. 12, iuðea 21. 12, eftgeniuað 6. 10.

After a cons. + d or t, d is lost, cf. examples under Tense-Formation of Weak Verbs, Class I, § 105 (2): abældon 24. 5, gesendon 21. 1, gehræston 13. 19, &c. For grammatical change of d and ð, cf. § 79.

## ð.

§ 72. The dental spirant is usually denoted by ð and appears in all positions: ðah 18. 4, ðornas 8. 7, ðread 3. 7, broðer 6. 42, cweð 24. 19. It is also sometimes used in foreign proper names for th: marða 10. 38, obeðing 3. 23, ðeofi I 3. 11 (th is more frequent: nathaning 3. 31, arimathia 23. 51, lothes 17. 28).

The sign þ is regularly employed only as an abbreviation for ðæt: þte 5. 24 (ðætte only in 9. 12), oððþ 21. 32.

þ is found besides in þæm 24. 1, þ'm 20. 28, þone 1. 59.

Note.—The second instance may be due to an error in printing, as Skeat in his Preface, p. vii, mentions only the first and the last.

ð is geminated in oððe 2. 37, oðða 22. 27, siðða 7. 45, soðða 13. 7. Apparent gemination is caused by the loss of i in wræððo 21. 23 (<\*wraþiþo).

Original lp > ld: wulder I 4. 1, wuldro 4. 22.

Original pl > dl after a long vowel: ádlö 21. 11, nédles 18. 25; and after a short vowel in sedle 1. 52, sédlö 20. 46. þl > tl in seatlas 11. 43, 20. 46.

t + ð > tt: ðætte 9. 12.

ð + ð remains unchanged: wræððo 21. 33 (but simplified in wraðe 3. 7, wraðo 4. 28), miððy 12. 54, miððio I 4. 8.

ð + d generally remains, as: læðdon 1. 71, but ð is assimilated in cydde I 7. 11.

An interchange between ð and d takes place in hæðno 12. 30, hæðna 22. 25, hæðnum 21. 24; besides hæðin 17. 16, hæðinra 21. 25, hæðnum 18. 32.

d is wrongly written for ð in bid 8. 17, edmodnise I 8. 10, hæled I 6. 1, cymed 8. 17, dæt 9. 27; t in inting 8. 47 (ð only three times in Luke: inðing 23. 14, 22, inðinges 23. 4); hð = ðð in mohða 12. 33.

þ corresponds to WS. d in ræðe 18. 8, hundrað 15. 4, &c., mið 8. 51, &c.; to WS. t in legeð 11. 36, legeðslæht 10. 18 (cf. Fo. 40).

ð is dropped in cuæ I 9. 4, cuoe 15. 31.

#### s.

§ 73. s appears frequently in all positions: sagum I 2. 10, scipe 5. 3, nestum 3. 14, his I 3. 8; geminated in cyssende 15. 20.

s is assimilated to n in ðionne 12. 5.

The affricate ts is denoted by ts or z; it is foreign to Gmc. and appears only where through vowel syncope

t or d and s have come together: *gitsare* I 7. 14, &c. z is used only in foreign proper names: *nazareth* 2. 4, *nazar* 2. 39, *nazarenisca* 18. 37. c is used for the same sound in the loan-word *plæcum* 10. 10, *plæccum* 14. 21 (*S.* 205, *anm.* 1).

c is wrongly used for s in *oncæccen* 12. 9.

## CHAPTER X. VELARS AND PALATALS

### c.

§ 74. The velar and palatal tenuis c occurs in all positions: *cild* 1. 41, *clæno* 11. 41, *cræfte* I 2. 1, *fisc* 11. 11, *scyld* I 8. 19; geminated in *waccane* 12. 38, &c; doubled by the scribe in *bæcc* 17. 31, *gebræcc* 9. 16, &c.

Final c in unstressed syllables often occurs as h: *ah* 16. 21 (forty times, ac only once: I 6. 18), *ahne* 4. 22, *iwh* 11. 47, *ðeh* 1. 35 (three times; *ðec* 23. 37, 155 times), *meh* 4. 18 (three times; *mec* 22. 53, seventy times), *usih* 7. 20 (four times; *usic* 1. 1, four times). g appears in *usig* I 3. 7. h takes the place of c before t in *lehtune* 13. 19.

In the combination nc, frequently c is replaced by g, cg, gc: *dringes* 17. 8, *dring* 12. 19, *dringca* 22. 30, *druncgnia* 12. 45, *fordrycga* 11. 53, *arecganne* I 3. 7; also after a short vowel in *bæg* 9. 62, *gebræg* 22. 19, indicating palatalization (*EB.* 495, *anm.* 2). sg for sc is written in *gebearsgip* 5. 29.

c is dropped at the end of a monosyllable in *mé* 22. 67, *ðe* 15. 29, &c., &c.

### g.

§ 75. g is frequent in all positions: *gastes* 4. 14, *geafa* 2. 40, *god* 18. 18, *arg* I 8. 18, *oferhygdego* 1. 51.

Geminated g is written cg, cc, or gc, when gemina-



tion is due to WG. *gj*: *bycgendo* 19. 45, *forhyccanne* 11. 42, *sægcas* 7. 22, *bebyccendo* I 10. 5; the gemination is simplified in *bebycane* I 7. 16.

*g* has passed into *h* at the end of a word after a long guttural vowel in *genoh* 22. 38; after a short palatal vowel in *hehstalde* 1. 27, *-es* 1. 27 (but cf. *hegstald* *Matt.* I 14. 11)—the change here may be due to the voiceless sound immediately following. The same change occurs in an unstressed syllable in *ðrittih* 3. 23 (besides *ðrittig* I 4. 8), *fiftih* 16. 6, *fifteih* 7. 41, &c. (cf. *S.* 214, *anm.* 1); the intermediate writing is met in *eghðer* 7. 42.

In the combination *ng*, sometimes *c* and *cg* are written for *g*, denoting palatalization (*EB.* 495, *anm.* 2): *gehyncres* 6. 21, *gestrenced* 1. 80, *gitsuncge* 12. 15, *nednimincg* 11. 39, *stencgum* 22. 52, *gestrencgnd* 2. 40, &c., and the loan-word *engcel* 22. 43.

*g* is sometimes lost between a short palatal vowel and a consonant with consequent lengthening of the vowel (*S.* 214, 3; *EB.* 530): *mædne* 8. 50 (besides *mægdne* I 6. 1), *waghræl* 23. 45 (besides *hrægle* 10. 13), *gehrineð* 7. 39, &c. (cf. § 8); between two vowels in *geseen* 19. 37, 22. 24 (besides *gesegen* 1. 3); and between two consonants in *merne* 18. 33.

*-ig* is shortened to *-i* in *syndrio* 2. 3, I 9. 11, *syndria* 9. 10, *hefia* 9. 39.

#### h.

§ 76. I. Initial *h* stands before all vowels and in the combinations *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*. As it was merely a weak breathing, it is often written where it does not etymologically belong, and, on the other hand, historic *h* is often dropped.

Etymologically incorrect *h* is found before *l*: *hlætto* 24. 25, *hlætmet* I 8. 7, &c., *hlatto* 12. 45, *gehleafo* 8. 25, *gehleafas* 12. 28, *oferhlæfeð* 11. 41, *hlifigiendra* 20. 30, *hlifigað* 20. 38; before *n*: *hniðriendo* I 6. 12, *gehniðra*



6. 37, gehniðrad 6. 37 (three times); before r: hreaferas I 9. 3, hreafera 19. 46, hræst I 8. 11, hræsto 14. 7, hræwendn I 9. 4, hriord 14. 12, hripes 19. 21, hriopað 12. 24, gehrinað 11. 46 (for the h in this word cf. Lind. 28, anm. 2); before a vowel: haldormon 5. 5, (hund)-hættatih 2. 37.

Historical h is lost before a consonant in laferd I 10. 7, ræðe 18. 8; in the second member of the compounds: ebolsað 12. 10, ondeto 10. 21, anlapum 4. 40; after an unaccented vowel in næbbende 3. 11. hw appears as ch in chualc 9. 48.

II. Medial h appears as g in heigsta I 11. 17, suoeger 12. 53, suegir 12. 53, gesigðe 9. 52.

Medial simple h and hw are lost between vowels: fleað 8. 13, onfoað 9. 48, &c. (cf. § 53 for other examples); after a voiced consonant and before a vowel, in suira 15. 20 (EB. 529), ðyrl 18. 25 (<\*ðyrhil, S. 218; EB. 529), holo I 6. 12, holas 9. 58 (<\*holhas, EB. 529). hw is kept in genehuað 16. 13, genehuade 15. 15 (cf. § 61, II).

Medial h is lost after a vowel and before a voiced consonant: hera 22. 26, heanise 5. 4, geneolecað 21. 20, gesene 10. 31, bituen 22. 17 (cf. § 37); and with gemination of the following n: heannisum 2. 14 (S. 222, anm. 2).

Geminated h remains written as cc in pocca 9. 3. For the retention of h in ehras 6. 1, tæherum 7. 38, tehrum 7. 44, pointing to an earlier gemination, cf. S. 222, anm. 4. The original combinations ht, hs, are retained: leht 11. 35, inlihte 1. 79, æniht 9. 36, reht 13. 16, brohton 23. 1, gesohte I 2. 2, oht 1. 51, &c. ht is written as ght in ænight 20. 40. hs (generally written as x): inlixade 23. 54, oxa 14. 5, awox 2. 40, &c.

Exceptions: wæstmō I 8. 18, wæstmum I 3. 8 (cf. Got. wahsts), seista 1. 26. h has fallen before s also in heiste 1. 32, heista 8. 28, heisto 1. 35, if the syncope of the vowel took place before the fall of h; in which case the development would be: \*>hehista \*>hehsta \*>hesta,

heista (§ 14). If *h* fell first, the development would be more direct: \*hehista \*heista. The latter development is more in accordance with North. usage (S. 166, 6), but the form heigsta (cf. above) points rather to the former.

III. Final *h* remains: feh 8. 43, ahoh 23. 21, bituih 1. 25, &c. It appears as *g* in geslog 22. 50 (probably on the analogy of the plural), and in the compound wigbed 11. 51 (<\*wih-bēod, S. 43, anm. 4).

#### CHAPTER XI. GEMINATION, &c.

§ 77. For a treatment of the doubling and the simplification of consonants in relation to the length of the preceding vowels, cf. Luick, *Archiv.* 102. 58 ff.; Fo. 45.

Gmc. gem. of *l* is found in: all 2. 1, falleð 11. 17, feoll 5. 12, full 11. 39, godspell I 2. 6, spellendo 24. 15, spilleð 17. 33, scilling 15. 9; of *r*: gecerreð 1. 16, &c., eftcerrdon 23. 48, fearr 7. 6, fearra 15. 20, firr 24. 28, gemerras 13. 7, gemerredo I 2. 11; of *m*: huommes 20. 17; of *n*: binna 2. 16, acenned I 3. 14, onginnes 13. 25, monno 1. 27, penninga 7. 41, sunna 21. 25, wynnes I 2. 8; of *s*: cyssende 15. 20, cossetunges 7. 45; of *ð*: oððe I 4. 3, oðða 22. 27; it is, however, doubtful if this is Gmc. doubling (S. 226).

II. WG. gem. before *j* appears in habbað 3. 8, hæbbend 7. 2, wæccæs 21. 36, middum 2. 46, bidde 8. 28, bebycgeð 12. 33, selles 22. 48, acuellas I 7. 12, cynn 21. 10, synno 7. 47, sitt 16. 6, geteller 14. 28, awecce 3. 8, mett 12. 23, nett 5. 6, helle 10. 15, &c.

fj>bb: ahebbað 14. 11, &c. (cf. § 69); hh>cc: pocca 9. 3.

III. Gemination through the falling together of two originally separated consonants appears in ungeleaffullo 1. 17, geliffæsta 17. 33, rummod 6. 35, wræððo 21. 23, &c.

IV. Double writing of a simple consonant after short vowels: onsæccest 22. 34, accened I 3. 14, bæcc 17. 13,



beloccen 11. 7, arisson 24. 32, spræcc 9. 11, bædd 9. 40, goddes 6. 4, droppo 22. 44, ongetten 8. 17, agotten 5. 37, besmitten 14. 34, toslitten 6. 49, snyttro 11. 49, wittnessa 22. 71, eftsett 7. 15, &c., getrummade 3. 18, &c.; after long vowels: lyttel 19. 13, 7. 47, gebrucca 22. 15, ongetton 20. 19, and the loan-word *ðrælles* 12. 46.

V. Historical gemination at the end of a word is regularly retained, but there are occasional exceptions: *mon* 6. 45, *aðen* 6. 10, *selenis* I 3. 4, *lesnis* 2. 38.

Simplification is frequent within the word at the end of a syllable: *syngiges* 16. 18, *acendon* 23. 29, *gecerde* 15. 17, *gecyste* 22. 47, *spilde* 17. 27, *waldest* 13. 34, *un-geleafulnise* I 6. 9, *aðenide* 6. 10.

Simplification of gemination always enters after *r* that has suffered metathesis: *iornende* I 2. 7, *berneð* 15. 8, *ðirde* 13. 32 (the geminated form occurs only once in *Luke*: *ðirrde* 20. 12).

Simplification is also met in *acennise* I 2. 16, *degelnise* 11. 33, *cyðnise* 1. 72, *onlicnese* 8. 4, *wraðe* 3. 7, *ðisa* 11. 50, *ðasum* 9. 28 (*ðassum* 14. 6), *bebycane* I 7. 16, *habas* 9. 3, *sægo* 19. 40, *selenne* 1. 77, *seles* I 4. 8, *wæco* 12. 39, *lycedon* I 5. 1.

#### The Groups *ft*, *ht*, *st*.

§ 78. As the law governing these groups was in force only in the Gmc. period, it is unnecessary to illustrate it in detail here; cf. S. 232.

#### Grammatical Change.

§ 79. Cf. S. 233, 234.

Change of *s* and *r* (<*z*): *geceas* 6. 13, *gecoren* 8. 15.

*ð* and *d*: *geworðes* 1. 20, *geworden* I 3. 4, *gecuoeð* 11. 53, *gecuoedo* 9. 21; perhaps *fremðe* 24. 18 and WS. *fremde*; *mið* (192 times), and WS. *mid*.

*h* and *g*: *onfoað* 9. 48 (<\**fanhan*), *onfenge* 16. 25; *seas*

24. 39 (<\*sehan), gesegon 5. 26; geslaa 18. 13 (<\*slahah), geslægen 22. 7, slogon 22. 64; geðuoā 7. 38 (<\*wahan), geðuoge 7. 46; perhaps teigðuncgas 18. 12, and WS. teoða (Fü. 47).

#### Svarabhakti.

§ 80. For the development of secondary or epenthetic vowels before and out of syllabic l, r, m, n, cf. § 59.

Similarly, inorganic vowels have developed in the following words after r, l, and before g: burug 10. 9, byrig 4. 23 (besides burg 4. 29—without the secondary vowel, five times), mettbælig 22. 35. If the development suggested by Lind.<sup>2</sup> 63, anm. 2 is correct, meric 11. 42 belongs here.



## PART II

# INFLECTION

### THE VERB

#### CHAPTER XII. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS

##### Present Indicative.

§ 81. First Person Singular.—The regular ending of the strong verbs and of Classes I and III of the weak verbs is -o; in the weak verbs of Class II great variety prevails.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: *bid*do 8. 28, *bebido* 23. 46, *cymo* 19. 13, *ondredo* 18. 4, *éto* 17. 8, *frægno* 22. 68, *forgefo* 23. 16, *forgeldo* 10. 35, *leto* 13. 18, *geongo* 14. 19, *tostondo* 1. 19, *aworpo* 6. 42.

The only variation from this ending that occurs in Luke is the -a in *geonga* 15. 18, and the -e in *forlette* 5. 5.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: *doeomo* 19. 22, *fæsto* 18. 12, *fylgo* 9. 57, *hero* 15. 29, *ondeto* 10. 21, *wræco* 18. 5.

-a appears in *ædeaua* 6. 47, *doema* 13. 18; no other variations from the regular ending occur in this class.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -igo, in *agnigo* 18. 12, *endigo* 13. 32, *bodigo* 2. 10, *losigo* 15. 17, *somnigo* 12. 17, *sceomigo* 16. 3, 18. 4, *ðrouigo* 16. 24; -ega in *ðolega* 22. 15.

-o, -a in *fæsto* 23. 46, *ðola* 9. 41.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -o in *hæfo* 12. 17, *sægo* 19. 40; contraction takes place in *ðrea* 23. 22.

Apocope of the final vowel appears in *hæfic* 11. 6.

§ 82. Second Person Singular.—Various endings occur here.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: -es, cuoeðes 18. 19, cymes 23. 42, ondredes 23. 40, dringes 17. 8; -æs, onfoæs 20. 21; -as, cuoeðas 8. 45, inginnas 14. 9; -st, gesiist 6. 41; -est, cuoeðest 12. 41, onsæccest 22. 34 (for this ending, cf. Lea 106).

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -es, accennes 1. 31, gehyncres 6. 21, læres 20. 21, gescendes 12. 33, woenes 1. 66; -est, woenest 8. 25; -as, timbras 11. 47, wyrças 11. 45; -is, woenis 18. 8; -að, stænað 13. 34.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -as, leornas 10. 26, eftlocas 6. 42, efnescæuwas 6. 41; -ias, worðias 4. 7.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -es, hæfes 18. 22; -eð, hæfeð 12. 19, 18. 22; -as, ofergiuas 10. 35.

§ 83. Third Person Singular.

(1) Strong verbs: -eð, gebiddeð 14. 32, cymeð 3. 16, cuoeðeð 13. 25, forgefeð 7. 49, forleteð 15. 4, nimeð 13. 33, ariseð 1. 78, sitteð 14. 28, singeð I 4. 1, tosliteð 5. 37, aworpeð 11. 15; -ed for -eð, in cymed 8. 17; -að, brucað 14. 15, cuoeðað 14. 10, etað 15. 2, onsæccað 9. 23, onwopað 21. 12, oferwrigað 1. 35, toslitað 5. 36; -æð, tocymæð 11. 2, delfæð 6. 48, onfoæð 9. 48, onsæcæð 14. 33, tostraegdæð 11. 23; -es, ðerhgebiddes I 7. 4, bites 9. 39, færes 16. 30, cymes 12. 37, cuoeðes 11. 5, gefindes 15. 9, forletes 16. 18, nimmes 19. 22, hrippes 19. 21, gerises I 3. 8, singes 22. 34, spreces 5. 21, worðes 1. 34; -as, gefraignas 19. 31, forletas 16. 18, forsuelgas 20. 47; -æs, cuoeðæs 12. 45, gegrindæs 20. 18.

Entirely without ending is the anomalous form ge-swuing 12. 48.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -eð, gebegeð 18. 14, berneð 15. 8, ceigeð 20. 44, eftgecerreð 10. 6, foedeð 12. 24, fylgeð 9. 23, gehereð 6. 47, gegyrdeð 12. 37, geheneð 10. 16, geneolaceð 21. 28, lædeð 16. 18, gelefeð 16. 11, gelæreð 12. 12, sileð I 6. 14, seteð I 8. 12, teleð 10. 16, tyneð

13. 25, woeneð 8. 18; -ed for -eð appears in hæled I 6. 1; -að, gebirgað 14. 24, gebegað 14. 11, geherað 8. 8, hyhtað 12. 46, geneolecað 21. 20, lædað 9. 23, mercað I 9. 15, sendað 12. 58, ðenegað 14. 31, woenað 12. 46, gewyrcað 9. 25; -es, fylges 9. 49, henes 10. 16, læðues 14. 26, selles 11. 8, getelles 14. 28, tountynes 2. 23; -as, gemerras 13. 7.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -að, cnyllsað 12. 36, gegearuað 12. 28, gehlinað 22. 27, behofað 12. 12, geliffæstað 17. 33, efernlocað 24. 29, forlorað 15. 4, losað 9. 24, lufað 7. 5, miclað 1. 46, somnað 3. 17, tæcnað I 8. 3, ðreatað I 6. 8, wilnað 5. 39, gewundrað I 11. 9; -aðe for -að occurs in gefæstnaðe I 11. 13, foregearwaðe 7. 27; -æð in lufæð 16. 13; -iað, clioppiað 9. 38, hérsumiað 17. 6, gesceomiað 9. 26, willniað 19. 31, wundriað 1. 46; graphic variations of this ending (cf. S. 175, 2) occur in somnigað 11. 23, gesceomigað 9. 26, synngigað 17. 3, agnegæð 12. 44 (= agniæð); -eð, clænseð 3. 17, synngeð 16. 18, becneð 13. 11.

The ending -ieð occurs in the form -igeð in agnigeð 12. 15 (besides the contamination-form agnageð 11. 21, cf. S. 412, anm. 3); the ending -ies in the form -iges in agniges 14. 33, syngiges 16. 18.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -eð, hafeð 17. 9, saegeð I 3. 11, forhogeð 16. 13, gefiweð 16. 13, giueð 11. 11; -að, habbað 8. 15, giuað 11. 12 (besides giuiað 11. 10, which belongs to Class II); smeað 14. 31, geðrað 9. 1; -es, hæfes 19. 26, lifes 4. 4; -is, hæfis 19. 25.

As the above examples show, the theme-vowel is not syncopated in 2 and 3 sing. (S. 358, 2).

§ 84. Plural.—The same confusion of the endings -að, -eð, -as, -es appears here as in the 3 sing.

(1) Strong verbs: -að, gebiddað 11. 2, cuoeðað 4. 23, cymað 5. 35, eotað 5. 33, onfoað 6. 34, niomað 4. 11, arisað 18. 33, onsæccað 20. 37, sittað 21. 35, astigað 24. 38, wæxað 12. 27, auorpað 6. 22, winnað 12. 27; -æð, onfoæð 10. 10, ofstigæð 21. 21; -eð, abideð 7. 19, oncnaueð



8. 10, cymeð 12. 6, infæreð 10. 8, hlæheð 6. 21, geongeð 7. 22, astigeð 18. 31, gesuingeð 18. 33, aworpeð 11. 19; -as, abidas 7. 20, biddas 13. 24, cuoeðas 20. 5, cymas 17. 1, drincas 5. 30, ettas 5. 30, geongas 4. 36, grindas 17. 35, haldas 8. 15, hlæhas 6. 25, sceadas 6. 22, sittas 1. 79; -æs, forgefæs 11. 4; -es, ondredes 8. 25, geonges 11. 44, slepes 22. 46, geworðes 1. 20.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -að, forabrengað 21. 30, bebyrgað 9. 60, acuoellað 21. 16, euað 3. 7, fæstað 5. 33, gehenað 11. 32, foedað 11. 44, geherað 7. 22, hyhtað 6. 34, behofað 12. 30, gelefað 8. 13, geneolecað 11. 48, læðað 6. 27, oferliorað 21. 33, hræstað 13. 29, sellað 6. 38, telað 6. 22, woenað 12. 46, awoendað 17. 31, sémað 11. 46, woerdað 8. 45; -æð, inlædæð 12. 11, gelefæð 16. 31; -eð, gebergeð 9. 27, eftbrengeð 8. 14, gehereð 21. 9, lædeð 4. 11, gelefeð 22. 67, læðeð 6. 22; -as, acuellas I 7. 12, ahenas 23. 14, gelecgas 19. 44, gelefas 8. 12, biwærlas 11. 42; -es, ceiges 6. 46, gemoetes 2. 12.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -iað, wilniað 12. 48; -igað (a merely graphic variant of -iað, S. 175, 2), agnigað 21. 19, hlinigað 13. 29, losigað 16. 9, winigað 6. 44, sinigað 20. 35; -egeð (= -ieð), agnegeð 12. 33; -ias, wilnias 17. 22; -igas, willnigas 22. 71; -iges (= -ies), ondsuariges 22. 68; -að, clænsað 11. 39, gecunnað 12. 56, lufað 6. 32, nestað 12. 27, gesomnað 6. 44, eftwilnað 12. 20; -eð, clænseð 3. 17; -as, monigfaldas 6. 44, fatas 20. 35, eftthlaðas 14. 12, teigðas 11. 42.

There are in addition a number of contamination-forms arising from the combination of the a and ia of the two endings -að and -iað (-igað, -egað), cf. S. 412, anm. 3: agnagað I 10. 15, aldagiað 12. 33, costages 20. 23, bodagæð 7. 22, losaiað 8. 24, lufagiað 6. 32; a particularly anomalous form occurs in clioppogað 19. 40.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -að, habbað 3. 8, sæcgað 24. 17, giuað 12. 48; -as, habbas 12. 4; -igað (= -iað), hlifigað 20. 38.



**Present Optative.**

§ 85. Singular. The usual ending is -e, but -a is frequently met.

(1) Strong verbs: -e, *gebere* I 7. 7, *eftbidde* 6. 30, *cyme* 1. 43, *gec<sup>o</sup>oeð* 9. 33, *ondrede* 12. 5, *ete* 15. 23, *fære* 9. 57, *infinde* 18. 8, *forfelde* 12. 59, *genime* 12. 58, *sprece* 1. 19; -a, *cuoeða* 18. 20, *getta* I 3. 8, *geonga* 14. 18, *nioma* 22. 36, *onsæca* I 6. 7, *gesinga* 22. 61, *wiðspurna* 4. 11; -æ, *hrinæ* 16. 24; -i is apparently the optative ending in *gesii* 18. 41 (Ft. 52, 1), but cf. S. 166, anm. 2.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -e, *ofgebrenge* 6. 42, *gebygge* 9. 13, *indepe* 16. 24, *ðyncge* 10. 36; -a, *gebega* 9. 58, *byrga* 9. 59, *wyrca* 9. 33; -æ, *sellæ* 12. 42.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -ia, -iga, *pinia* 8. 28, *sceortiga* 22. 32, *gesynnigiga* 17. 4; -e, -ege, *fultume* 10. 40, *hriordege* 17. 8; besides the contamination-form *gerixage* 19. 14.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -e, -ige, *hæbbe* 8. 18, *gelifige* 10. 28.

§ 86. Plural.—The endings are the same as in the sing., since original final *n* has fallen in Northumbrian.

(1) Strong verbs: -e, *gebidde* 11. 1, *cyme* 14. 17, *geette* 12. 22, *geéte* 12. 29, *oferfære* 2. 15, *nime* 9. 3: -a, *ofercearfa* 8. 22, *coeða* 9. 54, *dringca* 22. 30, *éta* 22. 30, *gesea* 2. 15, *gworða* 8. 12; -o, *cuoeðo* 13. 35, *cymo* 16. 28, 17. 1.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -e, *gebygge* 9. 13, *here* 1. 74, *gehere* 16. 29, *wyrce* 13. 14.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -iga, *onsuariga* 21. 14.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: *hæbbe* 13. 3.

**Imperative.**

§ 87. Singular.—The second sing. imp. is regularly without ending in the strong verbs, and, with a few

exceptions, in weak verbs of Class I. In weak verbs of Class II the ending is generally -a, but sometimes -ig; in Class III few examples occur, and these vary between -e and no ending.

(1) Strong verbs: ondred 1. 13, dring 12. 19, fær 13. 31, agef 6. 29, forgef 9. 59, forgeld 16. 2, let 5. 4, nim 5. 24, sitt 16. 6.

Exceptions.—bruce 12. 19, gescearfa 13. 9 (which may be only an apparent exception; it glosses a Latin future, succides, and being followed by ðu, may be a pres. ind. form with the final consonant (ð) lost because of the following ð, or it may be an opt. to express a command).

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: long stems, breng 5. 14, geceig 14. 13, fylg 5. 27, foregyrd 17. 8, geher 4. 8, innlæd 14. 21, gelef 9. 61, oferleor 22. 42, genéd 14. 23, ræst 12. 19, untyn 13. 25, asend 4. 9, eftðencg 16. 25.

Exceptions.—foreswige 4. 35, geceige 1. 13, 1. 31 (which, like gescearfa above, glosses the future, but is not in 1. 13 followed by ðu, and is therefore either imp. or opt.), ædeana 5. 14 (on the analogy of Class II, cf. Fū. 54. 2).

Short stems: bebyg 18. 22, aðen 6. 10, wræc 18. 3.

For getrymeg 22. 32, cf. § 62, III.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -a, costa 4. 12, gearua 17. 8, hlina 14. 8 (which, however, may be an opt. to express command, glossing the Lat. subjunc.), lufa 10. 27, mildsa 18. 39, oefestā 19. 5, gewitga 22. 64, worða 4. 8, wuna 24. 29; -ig, hlinig 14. 10, gehlinig 17. 7, gebriordig 12. 19, worðig 18. 20 ('a late formation,' S. 412, anm. 8); -e, lecne 4. 23, synnge 18. 20.

geðreat 19. 39 may be a scribal error, S. 412, anm. 8.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -e, hæfe 10. 35, 14. 18, 14. 19, sæge 8. 39; without ending, sæg 9. 60.

§ 88. Plural.—The endings of the pl. imp. vary similarly to those of the pl. ind. with perhaps a preference for the theme-vowel -a.

(1) Strong verbs: -að, gebiddað 6. 28, blinnað 22. 51, scearfað 13. 7, cymað 13. 14, cuoeðað 10. 5, færað 9. 5, agefað 20. 25; -eð, ondredeð 12. 5; -as, gebiddas 22. 40, unbindas 19. 30, cearfas 19. 27, cueðas 6. 28, ondredas 12. 5, drincas 10. 7, eattas 10. 7, ageldas 20. 25, geðringas 13. 24, létas 18. 16, sittas 24. 49; -es, færes 9. 4, forgefes 2. 29, beginnes 3. 8, forletes 2. 29.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -að, gedroefað 3. 14, groetað 10. 4, gemað 10. 9, geherað 9. 35, lædað 15. 23, sellað 15. 22, seallað 6. 35, wyrcað 3. 8; -æð, ædeauæð 20. 24; -eð, bebycegeð 12. 33; -as, todælas 22. 17, hrendas 13. 7; -æs, wæccæs 21. 36; -es, tobrengeas 19. 27, gefylges 17. 23, lædes 19. 30, settes 9. 44.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -igað (=iað), lufigað 6. 27; -egeð (=ieð), lecneged 13. 14; -igas (=ias), ceapigas 19. 13, efnegedongigas 15. 9; -iges (=ies), lufiges 6. 35; -að, cnyllsað 11. 9, afearrað 13. 27, gearuað 3. 4, grápað 24. 39, wunað 9. 4; -eð, ondsuareð 20. 3; -as, bloedsas 6. 28, gearuas 22. 8, locas I 10. 17; also the contamination-form efnegedoncaiges 15. 6.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -as, habas 24. 39, sægcas 7. 22.

§ 89. Infinitive.—I. The uninflected infinitive has lost its final -n, retaining the vowel as -a, -e, or occasionally as -æ.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: -a, gebeara 10. 4, cuma 18. 16, geeatta I 6. 1, oferfara 10. 7, arisa 9. 22, wiðstonda 11. 53, geworpa 11. 18; -æ, forbeada 9. 50; -e, cume 14. 20, ondrede 2. 10, gefrægne 20. 40, genime 12. 29, arise I 11. 8.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -a, gedoema 6. 37, foreglendra I 4. 15, hæla 9. 2, gehera 10. 24, sealla 8. 55, gesenda I 11. 14, soeca 22. 23, getimbra 14. 28, wyrca 5. 34; -æ, geðencæ I 7. 13, foreðencgæ 21. 14; -e, gebege 9. 12, ofercerre 16. 26, geéce 12. 25, gefylle 15. 16, here I 8. 20, gesete 5. 18, awece 3. 8.



(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -ia and -iga, bodia 4. 19, geclænsia 5. 12, druncgnia 12. 45, geendia 14. 30, losia 13. 33, gemersia I 7. 19, oferplontia 17. 6, gesomnia 13. 34, ofwytrumia 17. 6, geðrowia 9. 22, gewunia 19. 5, cnylsiga 13. 25, geéndiga 14. 29, forhtiga 21. 9, eftlociga 13. 11, losiga 6. 9, somniga 12. 18, gesoðfæstiga 10. 29, ðrouiga 8. 28; -ige, -ege (= -ie), gestyrige 6. 48, gestyrege 8. 49; -a, gemyndga 1. 72, gehniðra 6. 37.

The infinitive ending -age which occurs in several words in this group is probably a late formation according to S. 412, anm. 3 and 7: bodage I 6. 15, gebodage 1. 19, rixage 19. 27, agnage I 7. 16, 10. 25, deadage 20. 36, gehriordage I 7. 10; also hriordagæ 15. 24.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -a, habba 24. 39; -iga, lifiga 24. 23 (cf. S. 416, anm. 2); -ge, giuge 19. 23, gesmeage 5. 21 (cf. S. 416, anm. 15).

II. The regular ending of the inflected infinitive is -anne (also written -ane), but -enne sometimes appears in the strong verbs, and in weak verbs of Class I.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: bearanne 23. 26, biddanne I 9. 12, brucanne 14. 1, cummanne 12. 45, ymbcearfanne 1. 59, geldanne 7. 41, sæccanne 4. 18, worpanne I 9. 14; -enne, haldenne I 9. 15, forlettenno I 9. 12, sæccenne I. 9. 9, sawenne 8. 5.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: -anne, heranne 14. 35, sealanne 12. 51, sendanne 5. 38, gesettanne I 7. 9, soecanne 19. 10, spillanne 19. 47, wyrccanne 11. 42; -ane, bebycane I 7. 16, seallane 14. 14, soecane I 8. 11; -enne, hælenne 5. 17, 19. 10, selenne 1. 77, telenne 6. 7, wæccenne I 7. 17; -ene, fylgene I 8. 10.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: -anne, cunnanne 14. 19, geendanne 14. 28, hriordanne 15. 32, wætranne I 8. 5; a syncopated form occurs in sceawanne 7. 26 (besides sceawanne 23. 48).

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: -anne, habbanne 21. 36, forhyeganne 11. 42.



§ 90. Present Participle.—The regular ending is *-ende*; *-ande* and *-end* are sometimes met, and very rarely *-unde*, after *w*.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: *berende* 2. 5, *bidende* 1. 21, *cymende* 23. 26, *cuoeðende* 20. 5, *ondredendum* 1. 50, *færende* I 4. 1, *fraegnende* 2. 46, *metende* 6. 38; *-ande*, *fallande* 4. 7, *niomande* I 9. 10; *-end*, *frægnend* I 9. 9, *bidend* 2. 25, *ondredend* 2. 25, *færend* 4. 1, *bidend* 2. 25, *sprecend* 12. 3, *spræcend* 1. 64; *-unde*, *hrowundum* 8. 23.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: *-ende*, *bycgendo* 19. 45, *foedende* 17. 7, *herende* 2. 46, *lærende* 5. 17, *sellendo* 11. 13, *timbrende* 20. 17, *aneccende* I 6. 1, *hergiendum* I 10. 12 (S. 400, 1); *-ande*, *foedandra* 8. 32; *-end*, *doemend* 7. 7, *eftdragend* I 3. 6, *lærend* 13. 10.

*stonde* 19. 32 has lost the participial ending, probably because of the *nd* of the pres. stem.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: *-(ig)ende*, *cnylsende* I 7. 4, *costende* I 10. 8, *forhtende* I 11. 12, *hlosnende* 19. 48, *hongende* I 11. 8, *laðendum* 14. 7, *hniðriende* I 6. 12, *hrouendo* I 9. 3, *wuldrigendo* 2. 20, *hlingende* 5. 29 (cf. S. 416, anm. 15), *cliopende* 3. 4; *-ande*, *bodande* I 5. 15, *cnylsanda* 11. 10, *cunnande* I 7. 20, *lofande* 24. 53, *oefistande* 2. 16, *ymsceawandum* 6. 10, *scimande* 17. 24, *ðafanda* 22. 5, *ðrouande* I 6. 9, *willnande* I 7. 13, *wundrando* 2. 33, *lufiande* 6. 32; the ending takes the form *-ænde* in *ondsuarænde* 13. 25; *-unde*, *sceaunde* 22. 56.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: *-ende*, *hæbbendum* 7. 42, *giwende* I 7. 4, *giwigende* I 9. 13, *giugende* 6. 30, *lifiende* 10. 30, *lifiende* 24. 5; *-ande*, only in the contract verb *smeande* I 7. 10, *foresmeande* I 10. 14.

#### The Preterite Indicative.

§ 91. Strong verbs, singular.—The 1 and 3 sing. have no ending, the 2 sing. ends in *e*.

Examples.—1 and 3 sing.: *bisnac* 23. 11, *gescean* 9. 29, *bead* I 10. 19, *tosceaf* 1. 52, *gedranc* 5. 39, *ofcearf* 9. 9, *cwom* 12. 49, *gebæd* 22. 32, *gesuor* 1. 73, *forheald* 15. 29.

In *bebeade* 8. 29, *ondrearde* 18. 2, and *stode* 1. 11, *e* is added, probably through a mistake due to a false feeling of analogy to the weak preterites aroused by the final *d* of the root. The analogy is truer in *gebinde* 24. 28, in which the strong pret. stem does not appear at all.

2 sing.: *cuome* 4. 34, *onfenge* 16. 25, *ongete* 24. 18, *geðuoge* 7. 46.

§ 92. Strong verbs, plural.—The ending of the plural of the pret. ind. varies between *-on* and *-un*, with *-en* once. The vocalic ending never appears in *Luke* (cf. *Fü.* 59).

Examples: *-on*, *beron* 7. 14, *bedon* 4. 38, *brecon* 17. 27, *cwoedon* 8. 24, *ondreardon* 2. 9, *gefrugnon* 3. 10, *ongetton* 20. 19, *ongunnon* 7. 49, *nomon* 11. 52, *aslogon* 22. 63, *ymbsprecon* 19. 7, *ðursecon* 22. 63, *wunnon* 5. 5; *-un*, *oncneaun* 2. 50, *frugnun* 20. 27, *ongunnun* 5. 21, *hlogun* 8. 53, *gehrowun* 8. 23; *ðonagehrewun* 8. 26, *gesungun* 7. 32, *gesungun* 18. 32, *geðuogun* 5. 2; *-en*, *gefreten* 8. 5.

§ 93. Weak verbs, singular.—The regular ending of the 1 and 3 sing. is *-e*; of the 2 sing., *-es* and *est*.

Examples.—(1) Class I: 1 and 3 sing. *-e*, *bohte* 14. 18, *brohte* 14. 20, *todoemde* 23. 24, *gefoede* 15. 15, *befoerde* 10. 30, *herde* I 2. 3, *gerahte* 24. 30; *eftsette* I 9. 19, *spilde* 17. 27; *-a* occurs in one instance, *gesohta* 22. 31; the personal ending is lost in *eftfoerd* 4. 13, *lærd* 23. 5.

2 sing.: *-es*, *ædeauades* 10. 21, *saldes* 19. 23, *settes* 19. 21; *-est*, *doemdest* 7. 43, *gehyddest* 10. 21, *saldest* 7. 44, 7. 45; *-esd* for *-est*, in *gesaudesd* 19. 21, a weak pret. of the strong verb *gesawa*.

(2) Class II: 1 and 3 sing., *becnade* I 7. 11, *lufade* 7. 42, *sceomade* 18. 2, *gemercade* I 2. 7, *getalade* 11. 38, *plægade* 7. 32 (cf. § 1, II (a)). The personal ending has been lost in *lufad* 7. 47.



2 sing. : geondsuaresdes 10. 28.

(3) Class III: 1 and 3 sing., hæfde 19. 20, sægde 14. 21, lifde 2. 36, giude 23. 52, smeade 12. 17, geðreade I 10. 11.

§ 94. Weak verbs, plural.—The regular ending is -on.

Examples.—(1) Class I: underbræddon 19. 36, bohton 17. 28, offoerdon 8. 2, gehyrston 15. 2, gelærdon 13. 26, nedon 24. 29, rahton 22. 53, sohton 2. 48, ontrymmedon 23. 23; -e in geherde 4. 23 (before the pronoun we).

(2) Class II: gebecnadon 1. 62, bebodadon 12. 48, ahongadon 23. 39, geeearnadon I 9. 3, geleornadon 6. 3, liccedon 16. 21, bereofadon 10. 30, wundradon 7. 16.

The final n is lost in clioppado 23. 21, without a following pronoun.

(3) Class III: sægdon I 6. 3, 7. 18, gesmeadon 20. 14, geðreadon 18. 15.

#### Preterite Optative.

§ 95. Singular.—The regular ending is e in both strong and weak verbs.

Examples.—(1) Strong verbs: gecurfe I 11. 6, eftcuome 17. 18, forlure 15. 9, gehrine 8. 47, awoxe 22. 31; aworpe 11. 14; miswunne I 2. 12, awrit I 2. 13.

(2) Weak verbs, Class I: acende 2. 6, geeaude I 2. 17, foerde 8. 29, haelde 7. 3, tahte I 2. 14.

(3) Weak verbs, Class II: fearrade 4. 42.

(4) Weak verbs, Class III: giude 19. 23.

§ 96. Plural.—The WS. ending -en occurs only twice in Luke, and e with dropping of the final n, once; the more frequent forms are -on and -o; for the relation of these different endings v. Lea 121.

Strong verbs: -en, cuoeden I 6. 5, gesegen I 3. 9.

-on, gebedon 18. 10, gecuoeden 8. 56, ongetón 24. 16.

-o, onfengo 8. 14, gehulpo 5. 7, genomo 20. 20, gesego 24. 23, 24. 37.

Weak verbs, Classes I and II: -on, geboeton 10. 13,

gefoerdon 8. 31, saldun 2. 24, geendebrednadon 1. 1, gehreawsadon 10. 13.

Weak verbs, Class III: -e, hæfde 17. 6; -on, sægdon I 10. 3.

### Preterite Participle.

§ 97. (1) Strong verbs.—The pret. part. of the strong verbs regularly ends in -en: boren 21. 23, beboden I 9. 7, gedrifen 8. 29, besmitten 14. 34, &c.; for other examples cf. § 98 ff., Tense-Formation of Strong Verbs.

The old ending -in perhaps appears in awrittinæ I 2. 5, cf. § 55, II, Suffixal Ablaut.

For syncope of the middle vowel in the inflected forms, cf. § 60, III.

The anomalous form harmcuedum 6. 28, although it glosses a pres. part., appears to be intended for a pret. part., the -ed of the stem suggesting a false analogy to the -ed of the weak preterite part.

(2) Weak verbs.—The pret. part. of the weak verbs ends in -d with the appropriate middle vowel (cf. § 105 ff., Tense-Formation of Weak Verbs); it ends in -t where there is no Gmc. middle vowel, and the final cons. of the stem is a velar (cf. § 78).

Examples: ofgebegeð 24. 29, gegroeted I 3. 15, alefed 6. 9, geneded 14. 8, astyred 10. 41, asended 4. 26, gecostad 4. 13, ahefigad 21. 34, losad 19. 10, gemersad 1. 65, gemyndgad 1. 54, geðreatad I 6. 9, gefreod I 8. 9, 12. 58, geðread I 5. 14, gebroht I 5. 11, eftgesald 14. 14, gesoht 11. 50, awoeht I 5. 20.

-ð is written for -d in eftgeniuað 6. 10.

-t for -d in geendat 22. 22, gelædet 23. 32, gesendat 19. 32, eftasettet 19. 20, foregesettet I 9. 14, efnegesettet 7. 8, ymbsettet 21. 20, ofersuiðet I 4. 11, gewoendet 17. 4.



## CHAPTER XIII. TENSE-FORMATION OF STRONG VERBS

**Ablaut Verbs.**

## § 98. Class I.

(1) The vowel of the present stem is *i*: *abidas* 7. 20, *bíðend* 2. 25, *bites* 9. 39, *adrifa* I 9. 15, *hrinæ* 16. 24, *arisað* 18. 33, *scineð* 17. 24, *toslító* 12. 18, *astig* 14. 10, *gesuica* 18. 1.

*ripan* sometimes has the vowel short in the present, and is then subject to the *o/a*-umlaut: *hrippes* 19. 22, but *hriopað* 12. 24 (Fü. 65. 1).

(2) The vowel of the 1 and 3 sing. pret. is *ā*: *fordraf* I 4. 16, *forgrap* 5. 26, *hran* 7. 14, *gehran* 5. 13, *arás* 4. 39, *gerás* 24. 26, *ymscean* 2. 9 (for *ea*, due to the influence of *sc*, cf. § 52 (*d*)), *astág* 19. 4, *adunestag* 3. 22, *besuác* 19. 8, *awrat* 20. 28.

Late formations according to the weak inflection are seen in *gegrippde* 9. 38, *gehrinade* 18. 15, *aduneastigade* 10. 30.

(3) The vowel of the 2 sing., the pl. ind., and the whole optative pret. is *i*: *arison* 4. 29, *astigon* 5. 19, *awrigon* 22. 64, *awrite* I 2. 13; with *io* due to *u*-umlaut in *gebiodon* 2. 38.

The weak form occurs in *gegrippedon* 23. 26.

(4) The vowel of the pret. part. is *i*: *ofadrifen* 16. 4, *toslitten* 5. 6, *geslitten* 8. 29, *besmitten* 14. 34, *bisuiçen* 21. 8; *awrigen* 9. 45, *auritten* 4. 4.

The weak form is found in *gehrined* 21. 5.

## § 99. Class II.

(1) The stem-vowel of the pres. is *éa* (= WS. *éo*; for the confusion in North. between *ea*, *eo*, and *io*, cf. § 13): *forbeadane* I 6. 11, *forbeadende* 23. 2; also in the contract verb *fleað* 8. 13, *gefleanne* 21. 36; *io* appears in *behiodo* 23. 46. *ū* as the present vowel appears in *brucco* 22. 11, *brucað* 14. 15, &c.

(2) The stem-vowel of the 1 and 3 sing. pret. is *éa*:

bead I 10. 19, bebead I 5. 8, &c., forbead I 6. 10, geceas 6. 13, forleas 15. 9, tosceaf 1. 52, with simplification of the diphthong, due to the following palatal (cf. § 35) in gebréc 24. 43, gebræc I 11. 13.

(3) The vowel of the 2 sing. ind., the plural ind., and the whole opt. is u: forbudon 9. 49, flugon 8. 34, forlure 15. 9.

The vowel of the singular has been carried over to the plural in brecon (together with palatal umlaut, cf. § 35) 13. 26, 17. 27, and to the opt. in gebrece 1. 8, 11. 37, gecease I 3. 6, I 7. 2, also in the plural geceason 14. 7.

(4) The stem-vowel of the pret. part. is o: aboden 12. 3, &c., beboden I 9. 7, forboden I 4. 17, gecoren 8. 15, &c., beloccen 11. 7, forloren 15. 32, &c., agotten 5. 37, &c.

#### § 100. Class III.

(1) (a) Verbs in nasal + cons. have as the stem-vowel of the present i (cf. § 3, II): gebindeð 11. 22, dringes 17. 8, drincas 10. 7, gefindes 15. 9, beginnes 3. 8, grindas 17. 35, gelimpað 21. 13, singes 22. 34, winnað 12. 27; also, with metathesis of r and consequent breaking, iorna 14. 31, iornende I 2. 17, &c.

(b) In verbs in r + cons., the original e of the present stem is broken to ea (for eo): cearfas 19. 27, ofcearfa 8. 22, ymbcearfanne 1. 59, scearfað 13. 7, gescearfa 13. 9; under the influence of a preceding w this is replaced by o: aworpa 19. 45, aworpo 6. 42, &c., geworpa 11. 18, onworpað 21. 12, worðes 1. 34, aworðe 21. 31, geworða 21. 7 (cf. § 45).

(c) Verbs in l + cons. have the present stem in its original form e: delfo 13. 8, geldanne 7. 41, ageldas 20. 25, forgeldo 10. 35, helpende I 7. 1, forsuelgas 20. 47.

(d) e appears also in fregna 20. 3, gefregno 23. 14, besides frægno 22. 68, frægnend I 9. 9, &c., tostraegdaeð 11. 23, and gefraignas 19. 31.

(e) An anomalous present with u occurs: wiðspurna 4. 11, cf. Fū. 67, 1 (e).

(2) (a) The stem-vowel of the 1 and 3 sing. ind. pret. of the verbs in nasal+cons. is a: gebánd 13. 16, unband I 9. 20, blann 7. 45, geblann 5. 4, gedranc 5. 39, fand 13. 6, ingann 24. 27, agann 11. 38, gelamp 8. 42, inbewand 23. 53; with metathesis of r: arn 15. 20, gearn I 11. 9, forearn 19. 4; the form binde 24. 28 also occurs, and the weak form ges<sup>u</sup>incgde 12. 47.

(b) In verbs in r+cons., the stem-vowel a is broken to ea, which after w appears as a (or æ): gecearf I 9. 16, ofcearf 9. 9, tocearf 22. 50, awarp 4. 35, gewarð 16. 2, awarð 4. 42, awærð I 7. 18 (cf. § 46).

(c) This stem does not occur in verbs in l+cons. in Luke.

(d) The stem-vowel appears as æ or ai in gefrægn I 9. 16, &c.; gefraegn 9. 18, tostraegd 1. 51, gefraign 8. 30, &c.

A combination of this stem-vowel with the weak pret. is found in gefrægnade 18. 36, gefraignde 15. 26, 23. 9.

(3) The stem-vowel of the 2 sing. ind., the pl. ind., and the opt. pret. is u; (a) verbs in nasal+cons.: unbundon 19. 31, druncon 17. 28, fundon 19. 48, ongunnon 7. 49, &c.; wunnon 5. 5, miswunne I 2. 12; with metathesis of r: togægnurnon 17. 12.

The vowel of the singular is transferred to the plural in ongannon 15. 24.

(b) Verbs in r+cons.: gecurfe I 11. 6, wurpon 19. 35, awurpon 4. 29, ðurscon 22. 63. The vowel of the pres. ind. is transferred to the opt. in aworpe 11. 14.

(c) Verbs in l+cons.: underdulfon 8. 7, guldon 7. 42, gehulpo 5. 7.

(d) Also in bebrugdon 20. 20, frugnon 3. 14, gefrugnon 3. 10, &c.

(4) (a) The stem-vowel of the pret. part. before n+cons. is u: gebunden 8. 29, druncene I 10. 18, druuncen 21. 34, geðrunge 8. 42, inbewunden 2. 12. Weak forms occur in: gesuincged 18. 32, geðringed 8. 42.



(b) Verbs in *r*+cons. have *o* as the stem-vowel of the pret. part.: *ofcorfen* 3. 9, *ymbcorfen* 2. 21, *aworden* I 7. 18, &c., *gewordne* I 3. 4, *geðorscen*. An unlauted form occurs in *awoerpen* 20. 15 (cf. § 55, II).

(c) Verbs in *l*+cons. have *o*: *underdolfen* 8. 14.

(d) Verbs in *gd* and *gn* also have *o*: *tostrogden* 21. 6, *gefrognen* 17. 20.

#### § 101. Class IV.

(1) The stem-vowel of the present is *e*, which is subject to *o/a*-umlaut: *beres* 14. 27, *bereð* 1. 13, *berende* 2. 5, *bearanne* 23. 26, *gebeara* 10. 4, &c.

For the forms of *cuma* and *nima*, cf. below.

(2) The stem-vowel of the 1 and 3 sing. ind. pret. is *æ*: *gebær* 1. 24, 11. 27, *gebræcc* 9. 16, *gebræcg* 22. 19, 24. 30.

(3) The vowel of 2 sing. ind., the pl. ind., and the opt. pret. is *ē* (= WS. *æ*): *gebere* I 7. 7, *gebrecon* 6. 1, *beron* 7. 14, 24. 1.

(4) The stem-vowel of the pret. part. is *o*: *boren* 21. 23, *gebroceno* 4. 18, *tobrocen* 6. 48, *forholen* 8. 17.

*Cuma* and *nima* require special treatment. In *cuma* *y* occurs much more frequently than *u* as the present stem-vowel, although it properly belongs only to the optative, cf. S. 371, anm. 1, 5; Fū. 68; Kluge, PG. 166; *u* is met only in the infinitive.

Examples.—ind.: *cymo* 19. 13, *cymes* 23. 42, *cymmeð* 17. 20; opt., *cyme* 1. 43, *cymo* 17. 1; imp., *cym* 7. 8, *cymað* 13. 14; inf., *cuma* 18. 16, *cume* 14. 20, *cummanne* 12. 45; but also *gecyme* 9. 23; pres. part., *cymende* 23. 26, *toecymmende* I 2. 9.

The stem-vowel of the whole pret. ind. and opt. is *ō*; cf. S. 390, anm. 2: *cuom* 5. 32, *cwom* 12. 49, *cuome* 7. 7, *cwome* 11. 25, *cuomon* 22. 52, *gecuomon* 5. 7 (opt. pl.).

The stem-vowel of the pret. part. is *u*: *forcumen* 17. 25, *forcummenum* 21. 26, *forcumeno* 24. 4.

The vowel of the present stem of *nima* is *i*<*e* before



a simple nasal (§ 17). There are forms both with and without o/a-umlaut: *nimeð* 13. 33, *nimmes* 19. 22, *nim* 5. 24, *genime* 12. 29 (infin.); with o/a-umlaut: *niomað* 4. 11, *niomanne* 11. 54, *nioma* 22. 36, *niomande* I 9. 10. The *u* in the infin., *numanne* 1. 25, is probably brought over from the pret. part.

The stem-vowel of the whole pret. ind. and opt. is *o* (S. 390, anm. 2): *genóm* 18. 31, *nomon* 11. 52, *genomo* 20. 20.

The stem-vowel of the pret. part. is *u* < *o* before a simple nasal (§ 18): *genummen* 4. 38.

#### § 102. Class V.

(1) The original stem-vowel of the present is *e*: *harm-cueðað* 6. 22, *metende* 6. 38, *ettas* 5. 30, *geette* 12. 22, *agef* 4. 20 (imp. sing.); *forgefo* 23. 16, *forgefes* 2. 29, *gesprecca* 4. 41, *spreces* I 3. 14; the *e* is marked long in *éto* 17. 8, *éte* 15. 23, *étte* 22. 8, *éta* 22. 30, *geétes* 17. 8, *geéte* 12. 29. æ for *e* appears in *spræcend* 1. 64, *ætta* 12. 45.

o/a-umlaut frequently changes *e* to *ea*: *forgeafa* I 6. 13, &c.; *forgeafanne* 10. 12, *eatta* 8. 55, *eattas* 10. 7, *eattanne* 6. 4, *gespreaca* 5. 4.

After *w*, *e* > *oe*: *cuoeð* 12. 22, *cuoeðas* 8. 45, *cuoeða* 6. 42, *cuoeðe* 20. 39 (*d* being brought in from the forms of the plural), *cuoeðendo* 1. 66, &c.; for such variations as *cuoeðað* 6. 26, *cuoeðas* 9. 20, &c., v. § 41.

The verbs with original *-jo* in the present have *i* as the stem-vowel: *biddo* 8. 28, &c., *biddanne* I 9. 12, *eftbidde* 6. 30, *ðerhgebiddes* I 7. 4, *gebiddande* 21. 36, &c., *sittas* 1. 79, *sitteð* 14. 28, *sitt* 16. 6, *yumbsittendum* 22. 55, &c.

The following forms of the contract verb *sea* appear in the present ind.: 2 sing., *gesiist* 6. 41, 7. 44, *gesiis* 6. 42; 3 sing., *geseað* 3. 6; 2 pl., *seas* 24. 39, *geseað* 10. 24, &c., *geseas* 10. 23; 3 pl., *geseað* I 6. 18, &c., *geseas* 14. 29; opt.: 1 sing., *gesii* 18. 41; 1 pl., *gesea* 2. 15; 3 pl., *geseað* 8. 16; imp. sing., *geseh* 11. 35; pl., *geseað* 8. 18, &c.; inf., *gesea* (ten times), *geseanne* 9. 9.

(2) The stem-vowel of the 1 and 3 sing. ind. is æ: bæð 5. 12, baed 7. 3, baedd 9. 40, gebæð 22. 32, cuæð 14. 25, &c., ofgæf 23. 46, forgaef 7. 42, ongætt 5. 22, ongaet 7. 37, gelæg 5. 25, gesæh 10. 18, eftbesæh; gesætt 7. 15, spræcc 9. 11, gespræc I 5. 12.

The vowel is diphthongized by the influence of the preceding palatal in forgeæf 23. 25.

The following are due to the influence of the preceding w: cuoeð 16. 15, cuoe 15. 31, I 11. 12 (with dropping of the final consonant); together with such variations in orthography as cuoæð 16. 15, coeð 9. 59, &c., cwoð 16. 3 (cf. § 41).

e for æ appears in agef 4. 20 (3 sing. pret.); cweð 24. 19, gecueð 13. 17 (cf. § 1, I (c)); Fū. 69, 2; S. 391, anm. 10); ē in geētt 4. 2, geett 6. 4, gefrett 15. 30 (S. 391, anm. 3; Kl., PG., p. 436; Fū. 69, 2).

(3) The stem-vowel of the 2 sing. ind., the pl. ind., and the opt. pret., is ē: bedon 4. 38, &c., beðon 8. 37 (with ð for d), gebede 9. 28, éton 13. 26, geéton 15. 16, geete 7. 36, geton 18. 34, ongéton 18. 34, ongetton 20. 19, gesegon 5. 26 (with grammatical change, cf. § 79); gesege 1. 22, &c., gesprecon 2. 15, &c., ymbsprecon 19. 7.

œ is due to the influence of w in cwoedon 8. 24 (with grammatical change), cuoede 17. 6, cuoeden I 6. 5, gecuoedon 9. 36, &c.

(4) The stem-vowel of the pret. part. is e: gebeden I 7. 2, I 7. 10, gefreten 8. 5, eftforgefēn 12. 10, begetne I 8. 16, ongeten I 11. 11, ongetten 8. 17, gelegeno 24. 4, gemeten 6. 38, gesegen 1. 3, geseen 19. 37, 22. 24, gesprecen 1. 55, foretreden I 8. 3, getreden 8. 5. With oe after w (v. § 41): cuoeden 2. 17, &c., gecooeden 12. 3, gecuoedno 19. 28, acuoeden I 4. 6, gewoefen I 4. 10.

#### § 103. Class VI.

(1) The stem-vowel of the present is a: alað 11. 44, gefara 9. 12, oferfara 10. 7, 16. 26; with pal. umlaut: wæxað 12. 27 (cf. § 34); according to § 1, II (b), færes



16. 30, fære 9. 57, fær 13. 31, færað 9. 5, færend 4. 1, &c. (only the infin. in this word and its compounds has a); eftdrægend I 3. 6, onsæceest 22. 34, onsæcca 20. 27, onsæcæð 14. 33, onsaeca 14. 18, sæccenne I 9. 9, asceaccað 9. 5 (cf. § 52, -ea due to the influence of the preceding palatal).

Before n + cons. a > o (§ 15, I): stondeð 11. 18, stonda 13. 25, tostondo 1. 19, &c.

The present is formed with j with consequent i-umlaut and gemination in ahebban 18. 13, ahebbað 14. 11, ahebbeð 6. 45, ahebbendum 6. 20; in ahefeð 6. 45, the f is brought over from the pret.; the gemination is simplified in hlæheð 6. 21, hlæhas 6. 25, hlæhendum I 5. 7 (=Got. hlahjan).

The following forms of the contract verbs appear in the present: ind. 2 sing., ofslaest 13. 34; 3 sing., ofslæð 12. 5, slæð 6. 29, aðoað I 5. 14 (cf. § 53); 1 pl., geslās 22. 49; 3 pl., ofslæð 11. 49, 12. 4, ofslæs 18. 33; imp., ofslah 18. 20; pl., ofslæð 15. 23; infin., slaa 12. 45, geslāa 18. 13, ofslāa 9. 22, ofslæ 20. 14, aðoa 7. 38, geðuoā 7. 38 (cf. § 53); pres. part., slægendum I 5. 8 (with the g of the pret. pl. and the pret. part.).

(2) The stem-vowel of the whole pret. ind. and opt. is *ō*: onsóc 22. 57, slóg 22. 64 (with grammatical change introduced into the singular); ofslog 13. 4, stod 4. 39, stód 18. 11, astód 6. 8, &c., gesuor 1. 73, aðuoh 7. 38, aðuogh 7. 46, awox 2. 40, gewox 1. 80, hlogon 16. 14, slogon 22. 64, aslogon 22. 63, ofslogon 11. 47, stodon 7. 14, &c., onstodon 23. 23, gestodon 23. 49, geðuoge 7. 46 (with grammatical change); geðuogun 5. 2, awoxeð 22. 31; in ofslage 15. 30 the a of the present is brought into the pret.; sod 2. 9 and gesto 19. 8 are scribal errors.

(3) The vowel of the pret. part. varies between a and æ (S. 392, anm. 7); but in Luke only æ appears: geslægen 22. 7, ofslægen 9. 22, ofslægeno I 8. 1, oncæccen 12. 9 (c being a scribal error for s).

The umlauted form appears in *ahafen* 10. 15, 13. 13, *ahefenum* 24. 50, *gehefen* 14. 11; cf. S. 378, 2, and anm. 1; 392, anm. 7.

The *o* in *ahofen* 18. 14 and *gesuoren* 1. 73 is probably introduced from the pret.

§ 104. Reduplicating verbs.—The treatment here is based on S. 393–397. The following forms occur in Luke:

#### I. Present.

(1) Verbs with original *a* before *n*+cons. (S. 395, 1); these in Luke comprise only the contract verbs *hoa* (<\*hanhan) and *foa* (<\*fanhan); ind. 2 sing., *onfoæs* 20. 21; 3 sing., *onfoað* 11. 10, *enfoeð* 9. 5, &c., *onfoæð* 9. 48, *onfoaeð* 13. 21; pl., *onfoað* 6. 34, *onfoæð* 10. 10; opt. 3 sing., *enfoe* 20. 28; imp. sing., *ahoh* 23. 21; pl., *onfoað* 22. 17; infin., *onfoanne* 6. 34, &c.; pres. part., *hoendum* I 11. 7.

(2) Verbs with *ē* (>Gmc. *æ*) followed by a simple cons. (S. 395, 2, a): *ondredo* 18. 4, *ondredes* 23. 40, *ondrede* 12. 5, *ondred* 1. 13, *ondredas* 12. 5, &c., *leto* 13. 18, *létas* 18. 16, *léta* 12. 39, *slepað* 8. 52, *slepes* 22. 46, *redenne* I 11. 1, *redendum* I 3. 6.

(3) Verbs with *ā* (>WG. *ai*), not followed or preceded by *w* (S. 395, 2, b): *hatteð* 8. 25, *hateð* I 7. 17, *sceadas* 6. 22 (for *ea* v. § 52 (d)); *gesceadeð* I 8. 15, *tosceado* 22. 29, &c. (S. 395, 2, b).

(4) Verbs with original *a* before *l*+cons. (S. 396): *falleð* 11. 17, *fælles* 8. 10, *fallað* 6. 39, &c., *haldas* 8. 15; also with *n*+cons.: *geongo* 14. 19, *geonga* 9. 59, &c., *geongendum* 9. 34, &c.

(5) Verbs in *-ōw* and *-āw*: *hrowundum* 8. 23, *flouende* 6. 38, *oncnauēð* 8. 10, *oncnawanne* I 7. 20, *sawēð* 8. 5, *sawenne* 8. 5, *sauende* I 5. 16 (S. 396, 2).

#### II. Preterite.

(1) These have as the vowel of the pret. *e*, which has become long before *n*+cons. (cf. § 54, III; S. 395, anm.



1): fengon 5. 5, onfenge 16. 25, onfeng 18. 31, &c., ahengon 23. 33, 24. 20.

(2) These point to the old formation of the pret. with reduplication (S. 394): ondreard 19. 21, ondrearde 18. 2, ondreardon 2. 9, &c., forleorton 18. 28, forleorte I 9. 2, &c.

slepa has only the weak form slepde 8. 23.

(3) The reduplication is obvious also in heht 5. 14, &c., gehehtes 14. 22, gehehte 8. 31.

sceada has only weak forms of the pret.: tosceadade 24. 27, tosceadde 22. 29, tosceadda I 3. 2, tosceadadon I 8. 4, tosceadon 6. 22 (where -on is for -adon).

(4) The stem is eo or ea with the usual North. confusion between the two diphthongs (cf. S. 150, 3): feoll 5. 12, feol 5. 8, feall 8. 41, 17. 29, &c., forheald 15. 29; gefeald 4. 20. æ and eæ appear irregularly in gehælde 2. 51, gehælde 2. 51; a, in tohaldon I 2. 11.

(5) The regular stem-vowel for this group is éo (or éa): geweap 22. 62 (besides the irregular forms, geweap 19. 41, gewap I 10. 4, gewaepon 8. 52), ðonagehrewun 8. 26 (éow > éw, cf. § 48), oncneaun 2. 50, oncneu 19. 44; ô appears in ge<sup>h</sup>rowun 8. 23.

sawa has only the weak pret.: gesaudesd 19. 21 (-esd being a scribal error for -est), gesaudes 19. 22.

### III. Preterite participle.

The pret. part. has originally the vowel of the pres.:

(1) Ahoen 23. 23, ahoen' 24. 7.

(2) forleten 6. 37, forleteno 16. 18; the weak form occurs in gereded I 11. 16.

(3) gehaten 17. 9, gesceaden I 3. 11; the weak form appears in tosceaded I 4. 9.

(4) gehalden 8. 29, &c.; the weak form occurs in gefalled 20. 18.

(5) oncnauen 8. 17.

## CHAPTER XIV. TENSE-FORMATION OF WEAK VERBS.

## § 105. Class I.

(1) Present.—(a) Original short stems. All forms of the present stem have i-umlaut with loss of WG. -j-, and, with the exception of the 2 and 3 sing. ind. and the sing. imp., gemination of the final consonant of the root. Stems in -r, however, do not lose the derivative -j (cf. § 62, II), except in the 2 and 3 sing. ind. and sing. imp., nor undergo gemination of their final consonant (S. 227).

Examples.—bycgando 19. 45, bebycgeð 12. 33, acuellas I 7. 12, gelegas 19. 44, arecganne I 3. 7, sellas 6. 34, gesealla 1. 73, &c. (for ea cf. § 31 (c)), gesettes 12. 42, settanne I 5. 17, awæcce 20. 28, ðerhwæcende 6. 12; 2 and 3 sing. ind. and imp., bygeð 22. 36, bebyg 18. 22, seles I 4. 8, gesceðeð 10. 19, getrymað I 10. 10, getrym I 11. 4, seteð I 8. 12, aðen 6. 10.

Many exceptions occur; the simple vowel appears where gemination is expected in bebycane I 7. 16, selenne 1. 77, eftseleð I 8. 12, setendum I 10. 5.

On the analogy of verbs in -r are untrymmia 15. 14 (though with gemination); getrymeg 22. 32 (for -eg=j, cf. § 62, III; S. 175, 3).

On the other hand, gemination appears sometimes in the 2 and 3 sing. ind. and the sing. imp., bebycgeð 22. 36, selles 22. 48, sellað 11. 13, selleð 11. 11, onsettað 15. 5.

Verbs in -r: 3 sing. ind., byres I 1. 1, ymbstyreð 15. 8; infin., geherganne 19. 37 (for g=j, cf. § 62, II; S. 175, 3), gestyrige 6. 48, gestyrege 8. 49 (-ig-, -eg- =j, S. 175, 2); pres. part., hergendo 2. 20, hergendra 2. 13, hergiendum I 10. 12, eriendo 17. 7; with loss of j, herende I 9. 6.

(b) Original long and polysyllabic stems. The whole present stem has i-umlaut, and the derivative j falls out

except in the verb *ceiga* (<\*kaujan), where it is retained in all forms.

Examples.—*gehero* 9. 9, *læres* 20. 21, *doema* 13. 18, *hyhtendo* 6. 35, *læd* 5. 4 (imp.), *henes* 10. 16, &c.

For the forms *oferleor* 22. 42, *rehtanne* 1. 79, cf. *S.* 384, *anm.* 3; *Fü.* 19, v.

In all forms *eawa* is without umlaut: *eauað* 3. 7, *ædeaua* 6. 47, &c.

Polysyllabic verbs (cf. *S.* 403, *anm.* 1). Geminatio remains in *geonditteð* 2. 38; it is simplified in *ondeto* 10. 21, *ondetande* I 4. 15, &c., *giónetað* 13. 7.

(2) Preterite.—(a) Original short stems. The normal form of the ending is *-ede*, *-edon*, with i-umlaut of the root-syllable, but without gemination of the final cons.: *aðenede* 5. 13, *geherede* 16. 8, *efnegeheredon* I 4. 2, *getrymede* 22. 59, *bewæredon* 11. 52. Geminatio takes place in *ontrymmedon* 23. 5, 23. 23 (cf. *S.* 416, *anm.* 11).

The old middle vowel is preserved in *aðenide* 6. 10; it is syncopated in *sceðde* 4. 35. *-ade* in *getrumade* 9. 51 (without umlaut, on analogy of Cl. II), *getrummade* 3. 18.

(b) Original long stems. The ending regularly appears with syncope of the middle vowel (according to § 60, IV), as *-de*, *-don*. The i-umlaut remains. The ending is added without further change to verbs in a simple liquid or nasal, in *f*, *s*, *g*, or in a vowel or diphthong + *d*.

Examples.—*lærdes* 13. 26, *oferfoerde* 4. 30, *ondælde* 10. 34, *hælde* 7. 3, *agemde* I 5. 19, *todoemde* 23. 24, *hendon* 23. 10, *fordwinde* 14. 34, *gelefde* 1. 45, *geræsdon* 5. 1, *gebegde* 24. 12, *underbræddon* 19. 36, *gehyddest* 10. 21, *inlædde* I 9. 3; *dd* is simplified in *gefoedon* 23. 29, *gefoede* 15. 15 (pret. opt.), *nedon* 24. 29 (pret. ind.); the middle vowel is retained in *teledon* 20. 20, *geteledon* I 8. 13 (besides *telde* 23. 11, *geteldon* 12. 1, *aweredon* 18. 9).

No change takes place in the verbs in *ð*: *gecyðde*



I 2. 14, læðdon 1. 71; but ð is assimilated in cydde I 7. 11.

No syncope takes place in verbs in mute+liquid: *geglendradon* 4. 29, *getimbrade* 7. 5 (with *a* as middle vowel); but more frequently a secondary vowel is developed or the original vowel restored between the mute and liquid: *gehyngerde* 4. 2, 6. 3, *getimberde* I 5. 9, *getimberdon* 17. 28, *gedegelde* 1. 24, 8. 47.

Certain slight changes in the root-syllable take place in consequence of the *d* of the ending following immediately upon its final consonant:—

Gmc. gemination is simplified in *cende* 2. 7, *acendon* 23. 29, *eftcerdon* 2. 20, &c., *eftcerde* 1. 56, *gecerde* 15. 17, &c. (besides *eftcerrdon* 23. 48), *gecyste* 7. 38, 22. 47 (for *-te* cf. below), *gefylde* 1. 53, *gefylton* 5. 7 (besides *gefyllde* 7. 1), *gespilde* 16. 1, *spilde* 17. 27.

The ending *-de* becomes *-te* after the *tenués* (*p*), *t*, *c*, and the voiceless spirant *s*: *geneolecte* 7. 12, *geneolecton* 8. 24 (besides *geneolectde*, cf. below); *gegroette* 1. 40, *geboette* I 7. 5, *gecyste* 7. 38, 22. 47.

Simple writing of the consonant is found in *inlihte* 1. 79, *geboeton* 10. 13. The cons. is written anomalously as ð in *gerihðe* 3. 19. The etymological writing appears in *togeece* 3. 20, *togeneolectde* I 10. 17 (S. 405, anm. 10).

After cons. + *d* or *t*, the *d* of the ending is lost: *ahældon* 24. 5, *gescende* I 8. 10, *gesendon* 21. 1, *eftsende* 23. 15, *gesilde* I 8. 8, *awoerdon* 20. 11 (besides *aweredon* 18. 9, without syncope); *geondworde* I 7. 7, *ondwarde* 3. 11, &c., *woende* 4. 10, *awoende* 19. 15, *gehyrston* 15. 2, *astylton* 2. 47, *gehræston* 13. 19, *eftgeræste* 24. 30; both vowels are preserved in *astyltdon* 4. 32, and only the *d* of the ending in *gestylton* 8. 56.

The preterites of the following long- and short-syllabled words were without the middle vowel in the Gmc. period, and in consequence are without umlaut in OE.: *brohte*



14. 20, brohton 23. 1, bohte 14. 19, bohton 17. 28, gelahte 9. 47, rahton 22. 53, sohton 2. 48, saldes 19. 23, gesaldon 1. 2, tahte 9. 45, geðohte 1. 29, awahton 9. 32, awoehton 8. 24.

By analogy the umlaut is brought into the pret. of setta and lecca: legdon 19. 36, settes 19. 21, eftsette I 9. 19, &c.

The verbs in *rw* lose their *w* before original *i* of the pret. ending: gesmiride 4. 18 (cf. § 61, II (c)).

The old form of the ending is retained in gesmiride 4. 18; the following are formed on the analogy of Class II: geondetade I 4. 7, ædeauades 10. 21, ædeawade 24. 34, geglendraron 4. 29, hyhtade 23. 8, geliorade I 2. 4, getimbrade 7. 5, getrumade 9. 51.

The whole preterite ending and middle vowel are lost in eftgegeb 2. 7.

The contract verb \*gedion has the pret. gediides 11. 27.

(3) Preterite participle.—(a) Original short stems. The ending is regularly -ed (=old -id), with *i*-umlaut of the root-syllable: astyred 10. 41, getrymed 22. 32, geteled I 4. 12, 22. 37, geypped 12. 2, gesetted 2. 12, gesettet 6. 48, &c. (the gemination being brought in analogically; for final *t* < *d*, cf. § 71), geseted 3. 9, gesetet 13. 6.

The vowel of the ending is not syncopated in the inflected forms: gecuelledo 23. 32, gesettedo 12. 19, 24. 12, efnegestyredo 24. 37.

The strong ending appears in geseteno I 9. 6, onsetenum 10. 30, inseteno I 6. 2.

(b) Original long stems. The ending is -ed, with the *i*-umlaut carried through: gecyðed 6. 44, gecerred 7. 13, acenned I 3. 13, gedærsted 13. 21, gefoeded 4. 16, gehyded 8. 17, gehered 1. 13, gelæred 1. 4, gelæded 21. 24, gelefed 6. 4, geneded 14. 8, gestrenced 1. 80, ofersuiðet I 4. 11, getéled 18. 32, gewéded 8. 35.

The middle vowel is syncopated in the following inflected forms: gehældo 6. 17, untyndo 24. 31; with

simplification of gemination in *gefylde* I 4. 18, *gecerde* 2. 45, *eftcerde* 2. 20, *efnegeceigdum* 23. 13.

The following inflected forms appear without syncope: *gedegledo* 19. 42, *gernerredo* I. 2. 11, *foregegyrdedo* 12. 43, *gefylledo* 21. 22, *geceigedo* 14. 24.

Without the middle vowel from the Gmc. period are (including both long and short stems): *gebroht* I 5. 11, *efnegebroht* 6. 38, *eftgesald* 14. 14, *gesáld* 18. 32, &c., *gesoht* 11. 50, 51, *awoeht* I 5. 20, *aweht* I 5. 11.

The old ending *-id* is retained in *gestrencgid* 2. 40, *gecegid* 19. 23. The ending *-ad*, on the analogy of Class II, appears in *ædeauad* 12. 2, 19. 11, *ædeawad* 8. 17, *gebbóetad* 23. 16, *geondetad* I 9. 7, *geondetað* 12. 8 (for *-ð* cf. § 71), *gedroefad* 1. 29, *gedeglad* 18. 34, *oehtad* 11. 49, *aoehtad* 21. 12, *gerehtad* 13. 13, *gesendad* 13. 34, 23. 25, *gesendat* 19. 32 (for *-t* cf. § 71), *gewoedad* 15. 22, *onwældad* 22. 25, *gedrencgad* 10. 15.

The final *-g* (= *-j*) of the stem is lost in *geced* I 5. 1, *geceid* 1. 35.

The ending *-en* appears in *ymbgyrdeno* I 7. 17.

The whole participial ending is lost in *awoende* 2. 39, 10. 17, *efneawennde* 2. 39, *eftawoende* 8. 55 (besides the uninflected form, *awoendad* 1. 56).

#### § 106. Class II.

(1) For the present forms cf. S. 411, 1, and Chap. XII.

(2) Preterite. The regular form of the ending is *-ade*, *-adon*.

Examples.—*bodade* 3. 3, *geclænsade* 7. 44, *gedruncnadon* 5. 7, *gefyrrhtadon* 24. 22, *fearradon* 2. 15, *gearuades* 2. 31, *gehlaðade* 14. 10, *geleornadon* 6. 3, *ofgemercade* 10. 1, *gemyndgade* I 7. 8, *plægade* 7. 32, *gehriordade* 16. 19, *sceauade* 20. 23, *ondsuarade* 5. 31, *geondsuarade* 22. 51, *geworðade* 13. 13, *awundradon* 1. 21; with *u-umlaut*, *cliopade* 8. 28, &c., *hlionade* 7. 37, &c.; and the contract verbs *gefeade* 1. 41, &c., *gefeadon* 19. 37, *tuiade* 9. 7.



With -ede, -edon : lycedon I 5. 1, lyceton 5. 30 (with t for d), gesselledon 24. 15, geondsuarede 7. 43, &c., ondsuaredon 9. 19, æ in geondsuaræde 14. 5, ai in ondsuaraide 20. 3, o in nacode I 5. 8, oe in lycoedon I 8. 9.

Elðeodigde 15. 13 is an illustration of syncope of the middle vowel, but cf. also S. 413, anm. 7; for syncope in the forms of geondwearda, cf. preterites of Class I, § 105.

(3) Preterite Participle. The regular ending is -ad : gecostad 4. 13, fæstnad 1. 27, gehaðrad 12. 50, gemiclad 4. 15, gemersad 1. 5, gehniðrad 6. 37, geplontad 13. 6, geþriordad 15. 23, geondspurnad 7. 23, aundrad 7. 9; -æd in gehoræd 18. 32; -ed in geclænsed I 4. 19, gecosted 4. 2, 6. 18, gedeðed 23. 32, gedrysned I 3. 4, gegeadred I 4. 10, gehlaðed 14. 8, gemyndged I 3. 13, gepined I 9. 4, gehriorded 6. 21, 15. 29, geþwoedded 1. 27.

Inflected forms : geendade 2. 43, gefyrhtedo 24. 37, gehiuadne I 9. 2, awundrade 2. 18, 48, 11. 44.

#### § 107. Class III.

Of the verbs belonging to this class (cf. S. 415, 416), the following are met in Luke :

(1) Habba. Pres. ind. 1 sing., hæfo 12. 17, hæfic 11. 16, hafo 7. 40; 2 sing., hæfeð 12. 19, hæfes 18. 22; 3 sing., hæfeð 3. 11, hafeð 17. 9, hæfes 19. 26, hæfis 19. 25, habbað I 8. 15; pl., habbað 3. 8, habbas 12. 4, hab' 9. 58; opt. 3 sing., hæbbe 8. 18; pl., hæbbe 13. 3; imp. sing., hæfe 10. 35; pl., habas 9. 3; inf., habba 24. 39, habbanne 21. 36, hæbbendo I 7. 16; pres. part., hæbbende 15. 7, hæbbendo I 7. 16 (used as the inflected infinitive), hæbbend 7. 2, hæbbendum 7. 42, næbbende 3. 11; pret. part., hæfde 19. 20, hæbde 8. 6.

(2) Sægga. Pres. ind. 1 sing., sægo 19. 40; 3 sing., sægeð I 8. 3, saegeð I 3. 11; pl., sægað 24. 17; imp. sing., sæge 8. 39, saeg 9. 60; pl., sægcas 7. 22; inf., eftsægga 9. 61; pret. ind. sing., sægde I 5. 16; pl., sægdon 8. 48; pret. part., gesægd I 4. 4, eftsægd I 4. 13, asægd I 3. 12.

(3) Lifga. Pres. ind. 3 sing., lifes 4. 4; pl., lifgað 20.

38; inf., lifiga 24. 23; opt. sing., gelifige 10. 28; part., lifigiende 10. 30, lifiende 24. 5, hlifigiendra 20. 38; pret. sing., lifde 2. 36, 15. 24, &c.

(4) Friga. Pret. part., gefreod I 8. 9, 12. 58, gefreo<sup>a</sup>ad 1. 74.

(5) Fiaga. Pres. ind. 3 sing., gefiweð 16. 13; pret. pl., gefiadon 19. 14.

(6) Smeaga. Pres. ind. 3 sing., smeað 14. 31; inf., gesmeage 5. 21; part., smeande I 7. 10, foresmeande I 10. 14; pret. sing., smeade 12. 17; pl., gesmeadon 20. 14.

(7) ðreaga. Pres. ind. 1 sing., ðrea 23. 22; 3 sing., geðrað 9. 1; imp. sing., geðrea 17. 3; pret. sing., geðreade I 10. 11, 4. 35, &c., geðreade I 7. 11; pl., geðreadon 18. 15, 18. 39; part., geðread I 5. 14.

(8) Hycga. Pres. ind. 3 sing., forhogeð 16. 13; inf., forhycganne 11. 42.

(9) Giwiga. Pres. ind. 2 sing., ofergiuas 10. 35; 3 sing., giuiað 11. 10, giueð 11. 11, giuað 11. 12; pl., giuað 12. 48; imp. pl., giuiað 11. 9; inf., giuge 19. 23; part., giuiende 6. 30, giwigende I 9. 13; pret., giude 23. 52, 19. 23, gegiuade 1. 63.

(10) For the remains of the old Class III in other classes, cf. S. 416, anm. 8 ff.: scyniga I 7. 12 (S. 416, anm. 11), geondspyrne 17. 2, ondspyrnende I 9. 4, gedrygde 7. 38 (besides f<sup>r</sup>drugade 8. 6), suigdon 9. 36 (S. 416, anm. 17), &c.

## CHAPTER XV. MINOR GROUPS.

### § 108. Preteritive Present Verbs.

I. First Ablaut Class.—(1) Pres. ind. 1 and 3 sing., wat 16. 15; pl., wutum 20. 14, wutton 20. 21, wutað 11. 13, witteð 21. 30, wuton 11. 44; opt. sing., witto 1. 18; pl., witte 8. 10, wittæ 5. 24; imp. pl., wutað 10. 11, wuteð 12. 39, wuttað 21. 31; inf., wuttanne 8. 10; pres.



part., wittende I 7. 18; pret. ind. 2 sing., wistes (four times); 3 sing., wiste 12. 39; pl. wiston 20. 7.

(2) Pres. ind. 1 sing., ah 18. 12; 3 sing., ah 12. 44; pl., agon 12. 33; opt., ága 18. 18; pret., ahte 7. 41.

II. Third Ablaut Class.—(1) Pres. ind. 1 sing., conn 1. 34, &c.; pret. 2 sing., cuðes 22. 34; pl., cuðu 2. 49 (followed by the pronoun gie), cuðon 2. 43.

(2) Pres. ind. 3 pl., beðorfeð 15. 7, ðofeð 5. 31 (an error for ðorfeð).

(3) Pret. pl., darston 20. 40.

III. (1) Pres. ind. pl., sciolon 13. 5, sciolo 13. 3; pret. sing., scealde 9. 31.

(2) Pres. imp. sing., gemyne 23. 42, gemona 16. 25 (or inf.?, S. 423, anm. 2; the alternative in the text, however, is geðencg, manifestly an imp.).

IV. Fifth Ablaut Class.—Pres. ind. 1 sing., mæg. 10. 25, mæge 11. 7; 2 sing., mæht 5. 12; 3 sing., mæge 3. 8, &c., mæg 6. 39, maeg 14. 31; pl., magon 11. 46, mago 5. 34, &c.; opt. sing., mæge 18. 41, 1. 20; inf., mæge I 7. 5; pret. ind. sing., mæhte 1. 22; pl., mæhton 8. 19, mæghton 20. 26.

V. Sixth Ablaut Class.—Pres. ind. pl., moto 22. 49.

§ 109. The Substantive Verb.—Roots \*es-, and \*er- or \*or- (cf. Kal. 192): pres. ind. 1 sing., am 1. 19, &c.; 2 sing., arð 4. 34, &c.; 3 sing., is 2. 49, &c.; pl., sindon 9. 12, &c., sint 2. 49, sind 17. 24, aron 4. 6, &c., aro 24. 38; opt. sing., sie 20. 16, se 12. 58, sé 4. 3, sée 12. 56, nesé 6. 40; pl., sie 12. 35, se (thirteen times).

Root \*bheu-: pres. ind. 1 sing., beom 13. 32, biom 9. 41; 2 sing., bist 1. 76; 3 sing., bið 1. 15, bid 8. 17; pl., biðon 3. 5, I 11. 7.

Root wes-: Pres. imp. sing., wæs 18. 13; pl., wosað 3. 14; inf., wosa 11. 7, wosanne 2. 49; pret. ind. 3 sing., wæs 2. 2, &c., was 22. 59; pl., weron 4. 13, &c., wero 16. 12, woeron 12. 3, &c., woero I 9. 9, wer 2. 22; opt. sing., were 2. 4, nere I 3. 9, I 8. 11, woere I 7. 20, wære 5. 12,

wero 16. 22; pl., woeron I 1. 5, woere I 1. 7, were I 9. 4, wero 3. 7.

§ 110. The Verb Willa.

Pres. ind. 1 sing., willo 5. 13, wælle 13. 20, wællō 20. 3; 3 sing., will 13. 31, wil' 9. 23, wælle 10. 22; pl. wælle 6. 31, wallað 16. 26, wallas 8. 20, nallo 19. 14; opt. 2 sing., welle 22. 42; 3 sing., wælle 9. 24; imp. sing., nelle 14. 12; pl., wælla 12. 29, wallað 18. 16, nællað 6. 37, nellað 6. 37; pret. ind. 1 and 3 sing., walde 19. 23; 2 sing., waldest 13. 34; opt. sing., wælde 1. 62.

§ 111. The Verb Doa.

Pres. ind. 1 sing., doam 12. 18, &c., dóm 20. 8, doa 12. 17, dóe 18. 11, do 20. 13; 2 sing., does 11. 45, doest 14. 13; 3 sing., doeð 3. 9, &c., doæð 12. 37, doað 3. 11, does 20. 15; pl., doað 3. 10, &c., doeð 6. 2, doas 23. 34; opt. sing., doam 18. 41, doe 18. 18; pl., gedoe 6. 31; imp. sing., do 4. 23, dó 10. 28, dóo 10. 37; pl., doað 9. 14, undoeð 19. 30; inf., doa 6. 9, gedoe I 9. 20, doane 17. 10; pres. part., doend 4. 1, &c., doende 12. 43, &c.; pret. ind. 1 and 3 sing., dyde 1. 25, &c.; 2 sing., dydest 2. 48; pl., dydon 5. 6, &c., dedon 9. 15, ðerhdedon 2. 39; opt. pl., dydon 2. 27, dedon 6. 11; pret. part., gedoen 23. 15, 24. 35.

§ 112. The Verb Gaa.

Pres. ind. 1 sing., gae 15. 18; 2 sing., gast 12. 58, gaes 12. 59, gegað 12; 3 sing., gaað 15. 4, gáð 11. 24, gaeð 7. 8, &c., ingaeð 10. 5, ingāð 22. 10; pl., gaað 2. 3, ingaeð 10. 10; opt. sing., inngae 9. 4; imp. sing., gáa 7. 8; pl., gaað 10. 3, gað 13. 32; gaas 19. 30; inf., gáa 17. 23, inngae I 2. 17; pret. ind. sing., eode 1. 9, eade 4. 42; pl., eadon 7. 11, eado 24. 13, ineade 11. 52.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## DECLENSION OF NOUNS: VOCALIC STEMS

## The o-Declension

## § 113. Masculines.

## I. Nom., acc. sing.

(1) The pure o-stems normally have no ending: cynig 9. 7, að 1. 73, dæg 6. 13, geong 2. 44, gast 23. 46, hlaf 4. 3, wæstm 1. 42.

The nom. sing. with e occurs in dæg 21. 34 (nine times), merce 16. 17 (but cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 150, anm. 2); the accus. sing. in e: dæg 4. 19, woeg 10. 4 (three times).

(2) The long jo-stems end in -e. Examples.—Nouns in -ere: doemere 12. 58, legere 6. 42, bodare 9. 33, hæser 2. 49, ettere 7. 3; also ende 1. 33, esne 7. 2, lece 4. 23, huæte 3. 17; without ending: licðrower 4. 27; short jo-stems are normally without ending: hyll 3. 5, ðrym 9. 32, but with ending -e: here (nom.) 6. 30, here (accus.) 9. 13.

(3) wo-stems: laaru 20. 21, forelatu 22. 26.

## II. Gen. sing. The ending is regularly -es.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: cnæhtes 1. 69, dæg 2. 42, hlæfes 24. 35, wingearde 20. 13, innoðes 1. 42, stanes 22. 41; -as: wingeardas, 13. 7, 20. 10; deaðes 23. 22 (an original u-stem that has gone over into the o-stems, cf. Got. *dāupus*); without ending: hlaferd 16. 8, laferd 11. 8, god 18. 17.

(2) jo-stems: huætes 12. 42, 16. 7, licðroweres I 4. 14.

(3) wo-stems: -as in ælaru 15. 14, I 9. 13.

III. Dat. sing. The regular ending is -e, but other endings occur and uninflected forms are frequent.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: -e, cnæhte 9. 48, dæg 1. 59, hlaferde 16. 5, hame 8. 51, hrofe 17. 34, wege 8. 5, deaðe 21. 16, drihtne 1. 16; -o, drihtno I 10. 10; 1. 5, wæstm 1. 8. 18, hlaferdo I 10. 1; -i, ðuneri I 9. 10; -æ, godæ



12. 6, loan-word diowlæ 8. 29; without ending, aldordom I 8. 10, cnæht 2. 17, dæg 9. 22, ham 15. 6, hrof 17. 31, bead 16. 21, huarf 24. 13, woeg 12. 58, oedæl 4. 23, aldor I 7. 5.

(2) jo-stems: ende 18. 5, esne 17. 9, gitsare I 7. 14, hreafere 22. 52, lece 5. 31, here 5. 19; without ending, ðrymm 9. 26.

(3) wo-stems: ælarua I 7. 10.

IV. Nom., acc. pl. The normal ending is -as, but -es and -æs occur, in addition to the weak endings -e, -o, -a.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: cnæhtas 12. 45, cyningas 22. 25, dagas 1. 24, gaastas 11. 26, hlafas 6. 4, seatlas 11. 43, stanas 19. 40, wæstmas 12. 16; -es, cnaihtes 18. 16, cyninges 21. 12, stanes I 10. 3; -æs, gastæs 10. 20, geongas 3. 4; -a, wæstma 6. 43; -o, hlafo 9. 13, nesto 9. 58, sedlo 20. 46, wæstmo 12. 17; without ending: halm 3. 17, ðread 3. 7.

(2) jo-stems: -as, esnas 19. 15, fisceras 5. 2, gitsaras 16. 14, legeras 12. 56, hreaferas I 9. 33, seteras 20. 20, hergas 9. 18; -es, esnes I 10. 7; -o, endo 11. 26, hiordo I 4. 1; -a, hiorda 2. 15; -e, hiorde 2. 8, 2. 20.

(3) wo-stems: larues 5. 17, ælarues 5. 5.

V. Gen. pl. The normal ending is -a, but the weak ending -ana occurs.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: cyninga 21. 12, fisca I 4. 18, heofna 21. 26, haligwara 1. 70; -ana, bergana 8. 32, dagana 5. 17 (five times), fiscana 5. 6, 5. 9.

(2) jo-stems: laraua 2. 46, olebearua 22. 39; without ending: oelebearum 19. 29, olebearu 21. 37.

VI. Dat. pl. The normal is -um.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: dagum 1. 5, gastum 6. 18, cnæhtum I 5. 12, hlafum 9. 16, stanum 3. 8; -om occurs in geongom 3. 5.

(2) jo-stems: esnum 15. 22, tosliterum I 2. 11, hiordum 2. 18, hergum 9. 16.

(3) wo-stems: laruum 22. 11.



## § 114. Neuters.

## I. Nom., acc. sing.

(1) Pure o-stems are normally without ending.

Examples.—*dor* 13. 25, *hus* 13. 35, *lond* 12. 16, *mægen* 5. 17, *wæter* 7. 44, *wolcen* 9. 34; the weak form appears in *folco* (nom.) 7. 12; *taco* 2. 34 is obviously a scribal error: -e appears as an ending in *sedle* (acc.) 1. 32.

(2) jo-stems. Short stems: *bedd* 8. 16, *cynn* 21. 10, *nett* 5. 2, *net* 5. 5; long stem: *hriord* 14. 12; dissyllabic stems: *woestern* 7. 24, *feastern* I 4. 11 (for derivatives in -en (-ern), cf. Lind.<sup>3</sup> 154). The long stems also appear with endings: -e in *ede* 8. 32, *erfe* 12. 13, I 8. 14, *woede* 12. 23; -o in *woedo* 6. 29, *gewedo* 5. 36, *edo* 2. 8; -a in *gehriorda* 11. 38; -æ in *edæ* 12. 32.

(3) wo-stems: *tree* 6. 43, *tre* 13. 8 mg., *treeo* 3. 9.

## II. Gen. sing. The ending is -es.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: *gebedes* I 7. 2, *huses* 6. 49, *ondes* 1. 8, *mægnes* 22. 69. *wif* 17. 32 glosses the Lat. gen. *uxoris*.

Note.—*mægden*, though regularly neuter in OE., in L. appears to be feminine, cf. gen. sing. *ǣræ mædne* 8. 50, *ǣræ mægdne* 8. 51; *ǣm mægdne* I 6. 1, however, is neuter.

(2) jo-stems: *woedes* I 5. 2, *wedes* 8. 44; without ending is *legeð* 11. 36, glossing the Lat. gen. *fulgoris*.

(3) wo-stems: *trées* I 8. 3, *trees* I 9. 6.

## III. Dat. sing. The normal ending is -e, which is frequently omitted.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: *blóde* 22. 20, *fyre* 3. 17, *huse* 6. 48, *life* 15. 13, *londe* 8. 26, *muðe* 22. 71, *ðohte* 12. 22, *wuldre* 24. 26, *woerce* 24. 28; -æ in *famæ* 9. 39; -i in *blodti* 1. 9; uninflected, *blod* 11. 51, *fyr* 3. 16, *hus* I 9. 11, *lif* I 6. 19, *lond* 17. 31, *ðoht* 1. 51, *wuldur* 2. 52, *woerc* 9. 56, &c.

(2) jo-stems: -e, *cynne* 21. 10, *woede* 7. 25; -o, *edo* I 7. 15, *woedo* 5. 36; without ending, *bed* 5. 18, 19,

wæstern I 3. 17, fæstern I 5. 2, hui<sup>a</sup> 3. 22 (scribal error for hui<sup>u</sup>).

(3) wo-stems: tree 17. 6, tréo 13. 19, meolo 13. 21.

IV. Nom., acc. pl. The normal ending is -o, with a few instances of -a; a few long stems appear without ending.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: -o, bodo 18. 20, breosto 11. 27, gero 13. 7, huso 20. 47, mægno 21. 26, gefehto 21. 9, seado 12. 33, sciopo (*navis*) 5. 2, suino 15. 15, woepeno 11. 22, woerco 13. 22, wifo 17. 27, wordo 9. 44, ðingo 21. 1, sedlo 20. 46; -a, linenhræglā 24. 12, heafda 21. 28, godspella I 2. 5, woerca I 2. 10, wundra 5. 26, worda 1. 65, ðinga 7. 22; without ending, seam 10. 4, scip (*ovis*) 15. 4, hus 9. 33, ðing 7. 22, ðoht 1. 78, word 24. 17.

(2) jo-stems: -o, cynno 12. 30, netto 5. 4, gewoedo 19. 35; -u, ricu 4. 5; -e, sceoe 10. 4; the masc. ending -as, scoeas 15. 22, seatlas 11. 43, 20. 46.

(3) wo-stems: treo 21. 29.

V. Gen. pl. The normal ending is -a, but the weak ending -ana sometimes appears.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: -a, folca 2. 31, hera I 5. 3, wifa 7. 28, worda 1. 4; -ana, ðingana 1. 1, wifana 23. 27, wordana 24. 8.

(2) jo-stems: cynna 3. 7, sceoea 3. 16, cynno I 4. 9.

(3) wo-stems: trewana 3. 9.

VI. The dat. pl. has the ending -um.

Examples.—(1) o-stems: bodum I 6. 2, gerum 4. 25, mægnum 10. 27, londum 8. 34, husum 16. 4; *In huso* 7. 25, glosses *in domibus*, but is probably singular.

(2) jo-stems: cynnum 24. 47, mærum 14. 21, sceowum I 4. 7, scoeum 22. 35, gewoedum 7. 25.

(3) wo-stems: cneum 5. 8.

#### The ā-Declension.

§ 115. For a full and detailed study of this class of nouns in North. cf. Part II of Lindelöf's 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Altnorthumbrischen' in the *Mémoires de la*

*Société Néo-Philologique à Helsingfors*, 245-84. Great variation from WS. exists, e.g. the frequent appearance of the masc., neu. ending -es, the almost regular loss of the acc. sing. ending -e in the long o-stems, and the appearance of the ending -e in the nom. sing. of abstracts in -nis(s)e.

I. Nom. sing.

(1) Pure ā-stems. In the short a-stems, the endings -u, -a, -e appear: *snoru* 12. 53, *geafa* 2. 40, *onsuare* I 9. 16. The long a-stems are regularly without ending: *meard* 6. 3, 6. 35, *sawel* 12. 29, *sprec* 16. 9 mg., *womb* 11. 27, *woen* 20. 13, *coern* 17. 2, and all the abstracts in -ung (-ong, -ing, -eng, § 55, VIII), *gristbittung* 13. 28, *groeteng* 1. 29, *mercong* I 1. 1, *mersung* 4. 14, &c.

Exceptions: *mearda* 6. 23, *redo* I 11. 5, *hælo* 19. 8, *fyrhto* 4. 36, *earliprece* I 11. 6, *wræððo* 21. 23.

(2) ja-stems: without ending are *sibb* 2. 14, *ðignen* 22. 56; with ending -a, *acasa* 3. 9, *ðiwa* 1. 38, *ðiua* 22. 56. The abstracts in -nis(s)e all have the vocalic ending except *selenis* I 3. 4, *feruitgiornis* I 3. 9; -o occurs in *ofersuiðnisso* 21. 23.

(3) wa-stems: *stoue* 2. 7, 23. 33, *cneoreso* 9. 41, 21. 32, 11. 29.

II. Acc. sing.

(1) a-stems. In the short stems the endings -o, -a, -e occur: -o, *wræcco* 18. 7, *lufo* 11. 42; -a, *geafa* 2. 24, *sceoma* 3. 14, 11. 45, 14. 9; -e, *wræcce* 18. 8, *ondsuer* 2. 26.

Long stems. These are in most cases without ending: *ár* I 4. 13, *heer* 5. 24, *frofor* 2. 25, *bereflor* 3. 17, *half* 19. 8, *rod* 23. 26, *ræst* 11. 24, *womb* 15. 16, *wacan* 12. 38, besides all the derivatives in -ung, except one (v. below). With ending -e are *elne* 12. 25, *mearde* I 11. 2, *gesihðe* 7. 21, *waccane* 12. 38, *costunge* 11. 4, 22. 40; -a, *farma* 5. 29; -o, *gesihðo* 1. 22, 4. 18, *hælo* 1. 71, *earliprico* 22. 51; -æ, the loan-word *ceastræ* 9. 52.

(2) ja-stems: without ending are *ðignen* 22. 56, *byr-*



genn 23. 55, mixen 11. 35, gerd 7. 24, 9. 3, sibb 12. 51; -o in cægo 11. 52 (Lind.<sup>2</sup> 161 suggests that this may be acc. pl., but it glosses the Latin acc. sing. *clavem*). The nouns in -nis(s)e all have the ending -e with the following exceptions: without ending, lesnis 2. 38, miltheartnis 10. 37; -o, witeso 18. 20, cyðneso 18. 20; -a, wittnessa 22. 71, onlicnessa 20. 24.

(3) wa-stems: stou 10. 32, 14. 9, 10, cneoreso 1. 50, cneureso I 5. 13.

III. Gen. sing. The normal ending is -es.

(1) a-stems. Very few examples occur in L.: hæles 1. 77, hehstaldes 1. 27, farmes 14. 17, nedles 18. 25, and the abstracts in -ung, clænsunges 2. 22, cossetunges 7. 45, hniðrunges 10. 19, groetenges 1. 44. Without ending are witgong I 4. 3, beorning 1. 11.

-e is found in groefscire 16. 2, ceastre 14. 21, -a in færma I 11. 4. hælo 1. 69 glosses the gen. *salutis*, but is probably an acc., as indicated by 'horn,' the alternative in the text.

(2) ja-stems: sibbes 10. 6, 14. 32. Without ending is sibb 1. 79, probably a scribal error. Derivatives in -nis(s)e: -es, hernises I 6. 17, geliornises 9. 51, unrehtwisnises 16. 8, unrehtwisnises 13. 27, socnises 19. 44; -æs, henisæs 10. 19. All the other words in -nis(s)e have their genitive in -nise (twelve in number).

(3) wa-stems: cneoreses 7. 31, cneureses I 2. 15, cneoreso 11. 31.

IV. Dat. sing.

(1) a-stems, short syllabled. The endings -a and -o occur, foresaga I 9. 6, stælo 5. 4.

Long stems. The usual ending is -e, but uninflected forms are frequent. Examples: beere I 5. 11, groefscire 16. 4, rode I 8. 14, mearee 10. 7, sawle 12. 19, wraðe 3. 7, ðeade I 2. 6; -o appears in wraðo 4. 28, cyððo 1. 61, hælo I 8. 17; -a in ceastra 4. 29; uninflected, ber 5. 18, huil 4. 5, 8. 13, lar 4. 32, sprec 7. 32, stefn 1. 42.

Derivatives in -ung occur with and without the vocalic ending. -e, clænsunge 5. 14, costunge 11. 4, grornunge 1. 6, &c.; -a is found in somga (= somnunga) 4. 28; uninflected, endung I 2. 16, setnung 23. 19, somnung 13. 10, diwlgittung 16. 11, and all those in -ing, ceping I 5. 3, casering 15. 8, flowing 8. 43, iorning I 5. 20, niming I 5. 3, &c.

(2) ja-stems: -e, byrgenne 23. 53, helle 10. 15, sibbe 7. 50, hehsynne I 2. 3, dælnise I 11. 11, halignise 1. 75, micelnise 9. 43, onsetnisse 11. 50, and all other words in -nis(s)e, except one (cf. below); uninflected, bend 13. 16, sipp (sibb) 8. 48, untrymnis 13. 12.

(3) wa-stems: -e, stowe 4. 42, 9. 12, &c., stoue 19. 5; -o, cneoreso 11. 30; uninflected, stou 6. 17, 9. 10.

V. Nom., acc. pl. (1) The endings of the short and long a-stems are -o, -a. -o, adlo 21. 11, bytto 5. 37, ceastro 9. 12, hræsto 14. 7, merdo I 9. 14, sauelo 21. 19, geðeodo 21. 24, stefno 23. 23, wombo 23. 29, wrioto 24. 45, ðoncungo 17. 16; -a, færma I 11. 2, sauela I 10. 15, wacana 2. 8, ðongunga 22. 17; -as occurs in feorðungas 21. 2, teig-ðungas 18. 12; -e occurs in ðongunge I 9. 8.

(2) ja-stems: -o, bendo 8. 29, sibbo 14. 12, synno 7. 47, I 9. 14; -a, byrgenna 11. 44, 11. 47, synna 5. 20, 5. 23.

The nouns in -nis(s)e generally have the ending -o: fyrhtnisso 21. 11, eorðthroernisso 21. 11, smiriniso 23. 56, ondspyrniso 17. 1; -e appears in deaðbernisse 21. 11.

(3) wa-stems: stowa 11. 24, stoua 21. 11.

VI. Gen. pl. (1) a-stems. The normal ending -a appears only in giunga I 7. 2; the weak ending -ana in ceastrana 5. 12; the adjectival ending -ra in writta I 3. 3, cursuogra 16. 28, scrædungra 9. 17.

(2) ja-stems: synna 1. 77, 3. 3, yðana 21. 25.

VII. Dat. pl. The ending is -um.

Examples.—(1) a-stems: geafum 21. 5, sagum I 2. 10, w<sup>a</sup>ræccum 12. 48, færmum 14. 8, &c.

(2) jā-stems: byrgennum 8. 27, synnum I 4. 20.



## The i-Declension.

## § 116. Masculines.

I. Nom., acc. sing. Short and long stems are alike without ending. Examples.—Short stems: mett 12. 23, stydd 10. 1, mægwlit 9. 29; abstracts in -scip, broðerscip 11. 42, hogoscip 2. 47, gebearscip 14. 13. With ending -e, dene 3. 5, 16. 26, and the loan-word oele 10. 34.

Long stems: metbælig 22. 36, dæl 10. 42, erest 20. 27, huoerf 6. 35, ymbhyrft 2. 1, legeðslæht 10. 18, sæ 17. 2, sténne 23. 56, feerstylt 5. 26, wyrp 22. 41, feng I 7. 14, gefeng 5. 4, faell 6. 49, hræs 8. 23.

II. Gen. sing. The ending is -es. Examples: mettes I 7. 15, suððæles I 7. 8, ondfenges 9. 5, eristes 20. 36, ymbhuirftes 4. 5, oeles 16. 6, sæs 21. 25.

III. Dat. sing. The normal ending is -e, but uninflected forms are frequent. Examples: -e, mere 5. 1, ymbhuirfte 21. 26, gigoðe 18. 21, hogascipe 1. 17; uninflected, bend 13. 16, dæl 5. 19, erest 20. 33, gefeng 5. 9, ferræs 8. 33, metbælig 22. 35, gebearscip I 5. 2.

IV. Nom., acc. pl. The ending is -o: bendo 8. 29, meto 3. 11, stenco 24. 1, geðeodo 21. 24, gebearscipo 9. 14; -a appears in lioda 17. 11.

V. Gen. pl. The ending is -a: spyrda 24. 13, lioda 8. 26.

VI. Dat. pl. The ending is -um. Examples: dælum 9. 14, beanbælgum 15. 16, gebearsciopum 24. 46.

Note.—The compounds in -ern belong here if the derivation < \*-ranni is correct (S. 89, ann. 4; Lind.<sup>2</sup> 165). The following forms occur: nom. sing., berern 12. 24, gestern 22. 11, hordern 12. 24; acc. sing., berern 3. 17; acc. pl., bererno 12. 18.

## § 117. Feminines.

Only long stems occur: dene 3. 5, 16. 26, indeed, is considered as 'The only remnant of the i-Declension in short-syllabled feminines' by Lind. (Mem. p. 284, footnote), but S. 263 classes it among the masculines.



I. Nom. sing. Without ending are coen 11. 31, mæht 22. 53, æ 16. 16, bisen I 5. 4, gemynd I 7. 18, sed 8. 11, tid 1. 57; with ending -e, portuoene 7. 37, 39 (cf. Lind., Mem. p. 284), onsione 9. 53; -o, biseno 8. 9, bissono 9. 11.

II. Acc. sing. Without ending are: bisen 14. 7, cuoen I 7. 8, losuist 9. 25, sed 8. 5, geðuild 18. 7, wyrt 11. 42, æ 2. 39, scyld I 8. 19; with ending -e, bisene 8. 4, 13. 6, gesihðe 7. 21; -o, biseno 18. 1, gesihðo 1. 22, 4. 18, 24. 23 (this last is classed as acc. pl. by Lind., Mem. p. 285).

III. Gen. sing. The ending -es occurs in aes 2. 27, 7. 30, &c., tides 4. 5, woreldes 20. 34. Onsione 9. 29 glosses the Latin gen. *vultus*, which the scribe may easily have taken for a nom. ('mægwlit onsione' glosses *species vultus*).

IV. Dat. sing. Forms occur both with and without ending.

Examples.—-e, bisene I 9. 6, oefeste 1. 39, sede 1. 55, gesigðe 9. 52, worulde 1. 70, 1. 55; -o, bissono I 8. 5; tide 21. 36, in the phrase 'alle tide,' is listed by Cook as acc. pl., but appears rather to be dat. sing., glossing as it does the abl. sing. *omni tempore*, while tido 21. 24, glosses the pl. *tempora*; the form alle, however, appears as the dat. sing. fem. in Luke 4. 25, 6. 17, 23. 44.

Uninflected: ded 10. 25, æ 2. 24, efnegemynd 22. 19, mæht 1. 17, world 18. 30; ðyld 21. 19, and geðyld 8. 15, I 10. 14 may be dat. or acc. (cf. Lind., Mem. p. 286).

V. Nom., acc. pl. The endings are -o, -a: byto 5. 37, mæhto 10. 13, I 6. 11, tido 21. 24, gesihðo I 3. 12, deda I 11. 5, wyrta 12. 27.

Without ending is lyf I 10. 12, in the phrase 'tuoge lyf' (*duo aera*).

VI. Gen. pl., wyrta 23. 56 is the only example.

VII. Dat. pl. The ending is -um: byttum 5. 37, portuoenum 15. 30, dedum 23. 51, mæhtum 12. 11, tidum 8. 27.

## The u-Declension.

## § 118. Masculines.

(a) Short stems. Only sunu occurs.

Sing. nom., sunu 16. 25, &c., sune 15. 31; gen., sunu 17. 22 (three times); dat., sunu 6. 22 (four times), sune 13. 4; acc., sunu 9. 38, suno 20. 13, sune 21. 36; pl. nom. and acc., sunu 6. 35, 20. 36, suno 15. 11, &c.; gen. and dat., sunvm 7. 28.

(b) Long stems and polysyllables. Sing. nom. and acc., summer 21. 30, hunger 4. 25, 15. 14, seað 14. 5; gen. and dat., hungre 15. 17, seaðe 6. 39, I 8. 9; pl. nom. and acc., hungro 21. 11, wintro 2. 37, 41; gen., wintra I 2. 4 (four times), wintro 8. 42 (may be nom. pl.); dat., wintrum 8. 43.

Other words, originally u-stems, have gone over entirely into the o-Declension; e.g. deað, flod, ðorn, and the words in -had.

## § 119. Feminines.

One long- and one short-syllabled feminine u-stem are met.

Sing. nom., dura 11. 7, hond 1. 66; gen., —; dat., dura 16. 20, hond 1. 71; acc., duro 13. 25, hond 5. 13; pl. nom. and acc., hond 27. 7, honda 21. 12, hondo 20. 19; gen., —; dat., durum 7. 12, hondum 4. 11.

An original fem. u-stem is nom. sing. coern 17. 2, dat. sing. coern I 9. 11 (cf. S. 274, anm. 1).

## § 120. Neuters.

A remnant of the neuter u-stem is seen in the nom. and acc. fealo 12. 48, feolo 16. 7, &c. (S. 275).

Feh, an original neuter u-stem, has gone into the o-Declension; the forms occurring in L. are: gen. sing., fæes 15. 12; acc., feh 8. 43, &c. The u of the stem appears in the compound feh<sup>u</sup>geroefa 12. 42.



## The Weak Declension: n-stems.

## § 121. Masculines.

The final -n of the oblique cases has been lost in North. (S. 276, ann. 5); the vocalic ending is typically -a, but frequently appears as -o, -e, and once as -æ. The strong ending -es (-as) often appears in the gen. sing.

I. Nom. sing. Examples: -a, æfgroefa 12. 58, geroefa 23. 4, brydguma 5. 34, hona 22. 34, geleafa 8. 48, hlega 6. 16, lichoma 23. 55, aldawuta 7. 39, oxa 14. 5, ældra 15. 25; -o, geroefo 16. 8, geleafō 7. 50, ondo 1. 12, sado 21. 35; -e, witge 7. 28, 7. 39, 24. 19; -æ, witgæ 9. 8.

II. Acc. sing.: -a, cofa 19. 46, egesa 21. 26, fola I 10. 2, doema 12. 14, geleafa 5. 20, pocca 9. 3, posa 9. 3, geroefa 16. 1, scendla 11. 8, willa 12. 47, and others; -o, folo 19. 30, geleafō 7. 9, ondo 7. 16, oxo 15. 23, ondwlitto 22. 64, tintergo 12. 5, &c.; -e, witge; without ending, inðing 23. 4.

III. Gen. sing.: -a, heafodponna 23. 33; -o, witgo 11. 29; -es, witges 3. 4, inðinges 23. 4, brydgumes 5. 34, lichomes 11. 34; -as, geleafas 12. 28.

IV. Dat. sing.: -a, inna 1. 15, gegerela 23. 11, bigencga 13. 7, mona 21. 25, doema 12. 58, lichoma 12. 22, geroefa I 8. 19, wyrtruma 3. 9, &c.; -o, gegerelo 24. 4, mitto 11. 33, dærsto I 8. 16, ondo 1. 74; -e, doeme I 9. 13, dærste 12. 1, bigeonle 13. 7, æfgroefe 12. 58, inne 11. 7; without ending, brydgum I 5. 2.

V. Nom., acc. pl.: -o, droppo 22. 44, eswico 13. 15, doemo 11. 19, gefoero 5. 10, gegerelo 19. 36, morsceaðo 23. 33, tintergo 12. 5 (but cf. Lea 156, II, b), aldro 2. 43; -a, noma 10. 20, doema 12. 14, erendureca 9. 52.

VI. Gen. pl.: -ana, uuðutana I 10. 11, dærstana 22. 1, witgana 11. 47; -ano, foerano I 4. 18; -ena, witgena 1. 70; -una, uutuna 1. 17; -na, oxna 14. 19; strong gen., noma 6. 16, ældra 13. 31.

VII. Dat. pl. The regular ending is -um. Examples:



wælum I 5. 15, sceaðum I 11. 7, dærstum I 7. 12, willum 8. 14, telgum 13. 19, witgum 6. 26, tintergum 16. 23, ældrum 21. 16; -om occurs in wælom 16. 9, witgom 24. 27.

§ 122. Feminines.

I. Nom. sing.: -a, mohða 12. 33, tunga 1. 64, culfra 3. 22, widua 7. 12, nedra 11. 11, hearta 12. 34; -o, eorðo 21. 33, redo I 11. 5, 16; -æ, fonnæ 3. 17, windgefonnæ 3. 17.

ðiwa originally belonged to the jā-stems, but in the nom. sing. is weak, and in the gen. sg. and acc. pl. follows the forms of the o-Declension (cf. Lind., Mem. p. 273, anm.). The forms in L. are: nom. sing., ðiwa 1. 38; gen. sing. ðiuæs 1. 48; acc. pl., ðiuwas 12. 45.

II. Acc. sing.: -a, asca 9. 5, cirica 7. 5, farma 5. 29, nedra 11. 11, widua 21. 2, scendla 11. 8; -o, eorðo 8. 8, ælmiso I 7. 16; -u, eorðu 22. 44.

III. Gen. sing. Only strong endings occur: earðes 12. 56, farmes 14. 17, heartes 6. 45, widues I 5. 11.

IV. Dat. sing.: a, sunna 21. 25, widua 4. 26, hearta 2. 19, asca 10. 13, wica I 11. 16; -o, eorðo 2. 14, &c., wico 18. 12; -e, herte 8. 15.

V. Nom., acc. pl.: -a, færma I 11. 2, widua 4. 25, hearta 1. 17; -o, hearto 21. 34, sido 12. 35.

VI. Gen. pl.: -ena, wid<sup>u</sup>ena 20. 47.

VII. Dat. pl.: -um, eorðum 21. 5, færmum 14. 8, nedrum 10. 19, plæccum 14. 21.

Note.—wacan (acc. sing.) 12. 38, Lea 158, II, considers as a weak feminine retaining its final -n. Against this assumption is waccane (acc. sing.) 12. 38, as well as wæccenes John I 3. 14. The gen. pl. wacana appears to be a weak form, but it is equally possible that we have here the strong ending -a added to wacan-.

Abstracts in -u, -o (cf. S. 279).

Sing. nom., fyrhto 4. 36, hælo 19. 8, snyttro 11. 49 (for the umlaut cf. S. 279, anm. 3); acc., hælðo (for ældo) 1. 36, hælo 1. 71, menigo 1. 10, snytro 2. 47; gen., hælo

1. 69, hæles 1. 77; dat., ældo 2. 52, fyrhto 5. 26, hælo I 8. 17, lengo 19. 3, snytro 2. 52, unsnytro 6. 11; without ending, leng 12. 25; pl. nom., menigo 4. 42, &c.; gen., -ana, ðiostrana 22. 53; -ona, ðiostriona 11. 36; dat., menigum 23. 4; acc., hælo 13. 32, menigo 5. 3.

§ 123. Neuters.

Sing. nom., ego 11. 34, eostro 22. 1 (for the gender of eostro, v. S. 278, anm. 3); gen., eastres 2. 41; dat., ego 6. 41, eostro I 11. 1; acc., eare 12. 3, ego 18. 25, eostro 22. 8; pl. nom., ego 2. 30, &c.; gen., —; dat., earum 4. 21, egum 6. 20; acc., earo 8. 8, eoro I 8. 15, ego 16. 23.

Minor Declensions.

§ 124. Irregular consonant stems.

I. Masculines. Sing. nom., mon 6. 45, sciremonn 3. 1, woercmonn 10. 7, aldormonn 8. 41, moneð 1. 36; gen., monnes, moñ (=?) 19. 10, aldormonnes 7. 2; dat., menn I 7. 6, ðæmenn 8. 33, aldormen 12. 58, ricemenn 7. 41; without the umlaut is aldormonn 8. 49; weak form, monno 1. 27 mg.; with ending -e, monaðe 1. 26; acc., only weak forms occur in L., monno 8. 35, aldormono I 9. 19; pl. nom., aldormenn 19. 47, cuðamen 1. 58; gen., monna 18. 11, fota 9. 5, 20. 43; -o, monno 24. 7; weak ending, toðana 13. 28; dat., aldormonnum 9. 22, monum 20. 16, monaðum 1. 56, moneðum 1. 24, &c.; acc., menn 7. 31, &c., cuðomenn 14. 12, heremenn 7. 8, foét 24. 39; with ending -a, foeta 7. 45.

II. Feminines. Sing. nom., boc 4. 17, burug 9. 10; acc., boc 4. 17, næht 5. 5, middernæht 11. 5, burug 8. 34, burg 18. 31, sulh 9. 62; gen., -es, næhtes 2. 8; -a, burga 11. 30; -e, burge I 2. 1; dat., without change, boc 3. 4, næht 2. 37; with i-umlaut, boéc 20. 42, byrig 4. 23, &c., byr' 11. 32; pl. acc., burgas 19. 19; gen., burga 4. 26; dat., burgum 17. 29.



## § 125. Stems in -r.

I. Fæder. Sing. nom., fæder 12. 30 (twelve times), fader 15. 18 (four times); acc., fæder I 3. 2 (four times), fader 3. 8 (four times); gen., fadores 1. 32 (eleven times); dat., feder 15. 18 (thirteen times), fædir 22. 11, fæder 15. 12; pl. nom., fadoras 6. 23, fadoṛ (=?) 6. 26; acc., fadores 1. 55; gen., fadora 11. 48; dat., fadorum 1. 72.

II. Broðer. Sing. nom., broðer 6. 42; acc., broðer 6. 14; gen., broðres 3. 19; dat., broðre 6. 42, broðere 3. 1, broðer I 9. 4; pl. nom., broðro 8. 19, broðero 20. 29; acc., broðro 14. 12; gen., broðero I 10. 9; dat., —.

III. Moder. Sing. nom., moder 8. 20; acc., moder I 5. 17; gen., moderes 1. 15, moederes I 4. 5, moder I 5. 11; dat., moeder 7. 15, 12. 52.

IV. Dohter. Sing. nom., dohter 2. 36; gen., —; dat., dohter I 5. 20, doehter 12. 52; pl. nom., dohtero 23. 28; dat., doht'rum 1. 5.

V. Swoester. Sing. nom., suoest' 10. 39, soest' 10. 40; dat., suoester I 7. 1; pl. acc., suoestro 14. 26.

## § 126. Stems in -nt.

Sing. nom., hælend 2. 11, hælēn 14. 3, freond 7. 34, friond 11. 8, woepenberend 11. 21; acc., hælend 1. 31, friond 11. 5, londbuend I 3. 8, haldond I 6. 13; gen., fiondes 10. 19, sellendes 22. 21; dat., hælend 7. 4, frionde I 7. 3, fionde I 8. 1, wepenberend I 7. 5; pl. nom., friondas 23. 12, fiondas 23. 12, haldendo 2. 8, buendo 20. 14, wyrcendo 13. 27; acc., freondas 7. 6, friondas 14. 12, wiffreondas 15. 9, fiondas I 10. 1, fiondes 6. 35, freondo 2. 44, telendo I 6. 12; gen., fionda 1. 74, wyrcedra 10. 2 (adj. ending); dat., friondum 12. 4, buendum 20. 9.

## § 127. Stems in -os, -es.

Sing. nom.: æg 11. 2, cild 1. 41, 44; acc., cild 2. 12, 16, doeg 17. 22, symbeldoeg 23. 17; gen., —; dat., doege 1. 20, &c., doeg 17. 22; pl. acc., lombro 10. 3, cildo 18. 15, ehra 6. 1; dat., dogrum 2. 46.



## CHAPTER XVII. ADJECTIVES

## The Strong Declension.

§ 128. On account of the glossator's arbitrary manner of dealing with his adjectives, which sometimes agree with the case and gender of the OE. nouns and sometimes with those of the Latin adjective, the classification of his adjectives is a task of peculiar difficulty and slight significance (cf. Lind.<sup>2</sup> 62; Lea 168; Fū. 91).

## I. Nom. sing.

(1) The masculine o-stems are regularly without ending: god 6. 45, all 2. 1, an 23. 39, blind 18. 35, micel 1. 15, ald 1. 18, strong 15. 14, glæd 23. 8, lyttel 19. 13, fearr 7. 6, wrað 14. 21. A few have endings: -e, wraððe 13. 14, ðærfe 16. 20; fearra 15. 20 is classed as an adjective in Cook, Gl., but glosses the Latin adverb *longe*.

Pret. parts.: welboren 19. 12, fromdoen 24. 11, ancende (for ancennede) 7. 12.

jo-stems: fremðe 24. 18, unclæne 11. 24, diorwyrðe 7. 2, gesene 23. 8, ondfenge 4. 24, woede 11. 7, unwittende I 7. 19.

wo-stems: gearo 22. 33.

(2) Neuter. The o-stems are regularly without ending: an 10. 42, soðfæst 12. 57, all 1. 37, halig 1. 35, micel 16. 26, reht 13. 16, full 11. 39. With ending -e: rehtlice I 7. 20, uneaðe 18. 24, allefne 23. 18; -a, micla 18. 25, wona 11. 41 (S. 291, anm. 2).

Jo-stems: bliðe I 7. 9, degla 8. 17, wyrðe 23. 15, milde 11. 34; -a, niua 5. 36, 37.

wo-stems: nearo 13. 24.

(3) Feminine. a-stems: the feminines regularly end in -o; but -a and -e are found; -o, deado 20. 32, oðero 10. 35, monigo 7. 11, uncuðo 21. 11, micelo 6. 35, menigo 5. 29, ðorfondlico 21. 2; -a, yfla 6. 43; -e, ðarfe 21. 3, and the pret. part. ancende 8. 42; uninflected, all 8. 37, forðhald

13. 11, unberend 1. 7, an 17. 35, full 1. 28. The ending -i appears in alli 1. 10.

ja-stems: niwa 22. 20, woedo 18. 5.

## II. Acc. sing.

(1) Masculine. The regular ending -ne occurs in allne 9. 25, enne 15. 4, onsæcne 14. 18, sumne 23. 26, unmiltheortne I 9. 2, oðerne, synfullne 15. 7; -e in alle 9. 13, summe 10. 38, dæghuæmlice 11. 3, welige I 9. 2, and the pret. part. frumcende 2. 7 (for frumcennede); uninflected, all 21. 4, an 15. 7, god 6. 43, halig 12. 10, micel 5. 29, sum 11. 36, fætt 15. 23, the pret. part. gelefen 14. 19; -o, weligo I 9. 16.

jo-stems: unclæne 4. 33, wyrðe 3. 8, unwyrðe I 4. 7, idelhende 20. 10, idilende 20. 11; with the regular ending of the acc. masc. adjective, unclænne 9. 42; a peculiar ending is found in suuēti 23. 56.

An original u-stem survives in cwic 10. 30 (S. 303), but in North. has gone over entirely into the o-Declension.

(2) Neuter. These are regularly without ending: all 4. 14, án 16. 17, unneh 15. 13, ald 5. 36, micel 12. 48, long 20. 47, fearr 19. 12, full 7. 37, lyttel 7. 37; -e occurs in alle 3. 3, micle 22. 41.

jo-stems: -e, dryge 6. 8, éce 10. 25, ondfenge 4. 19; -o, éco 16. 9; -i, drugi I 5. 4.

(3) Feminine: -o, oðero 6. 29, micleo 7. 9, menigo 18. 4, ðorfondlico 21. 2; -a, ana 10. 40; -e, alle 5. 5, longe I 11. 11, ðorfe I 9. 3; without ending, all 10. 19, an 12. 25.

## III. Gen. sing.

(1) Masculine. The regular ending is -es: godes I 7. 17, yfles I 7. 17, soðfæstes I 3. 12, wlonces 16. 21, meniscas I 2. 16, halges 2. 42, summes 12. 16, wundes I 6. 19; -as, wloncas 12. 16.

jo-stem: suðernæs 11. 31.

(2) Neuter: -es, anes 22. 59, halges 1. 72.

jo-stems: niwes I 5. 3.



(3) Feminine: -o, huono 12. 28, lytlo 12. 28 (these are both used with the masculine noun *geleafas*, but appear as feminine owing probably to the Latin adjective *pussillae*, which they gloss); without ending, heofonlic 2. 13, all 21. 35 (this word is constantly used with entire disregard of case and gender).

IV. Dat. sing.

(1) Masculine. The ending -um occurs in anum 11. 46, allum 21. 26, oðrum 16. 7, strongum I 7. 5, synnfullum 6. 34; -e, ane 4. 4, alle 10. 27, oðre 7. 8, blinde I 9. 18, halge 1. 15, huite 23. 11, scyldge 11. 4, welige I 7. 14; -o, miclo 2. 9, oðero 6. 6; without ending, an I 2. 10, halig 2. 26, full I 3. 4, utacund 16. 12 (used as a noun), unrehtwis I 9. 13.

jo-stems: unclæne I 7. 6, halwoende 1. 47.

(2) Neuter: -um, oðerum 9. 56, allum 8. 47, anum 5. 3, miclum 2. 10, 13. 19, huitum 10. 13, lytlum 16. 10; -e, alde 23. 31; -o, lytlo I 7. 15; without ending, an 17. 34, lichomlic 3. 22, unrehtwis 16. 11, unadrysenlic 3. 17.

jo-stems: -e, niue 5. 36, ece I 9. 16, groene 23. 31, diorwyrðe 7. 25, and the pres. part. unberendum I 8. 3; -i, drygi 23. 31.

(3) Feminine. The ending -ra occurs in allra 10. 27; -e, alle 4. 25, suiðe 9. 43, micle 4. 33, summe 18. 2; -o, oðero I 11. 18, oðoro 5. 7, miclo 8. 37, menigo 23. 8; -a, micla 1. 42; without ending, án 8. 22, woestig 9. 12.

V. Nom. pl.

(1) Masculine. The endings -o and -e occur most frequently: -o, halo 5. 31, deado 7. 22, oðoro 18. 11, soðfæsto 1. 6, syndrigo 2. 3, blindo 7. 22, idlo I 9. 7, deafo 7. 22, sumo 13. 1, unwise 11. 40, cuðo 2. 44, hlætt 24. 25, menigo 7. 47, gelico 20. 36, &c.; -e, alle 1. 48, unhale I 5. 6, glæde 1. 14, behofe I 8. 18, gearnfulle 12. 11, synnfulle 6. 33; -a, oðora 9. 27, færwitfulla 12. 26.

jo-stems: -e, wyrðe 20. 35, gesene 9. 31, onfenge 9. 10,



and the pres. part. welfremmente 22. 25; -o, onfengo 9. 16.

wo-stems: gearun 12. 40.

(2) Neuter. The endings are -o, -e, -a: oðero I 2. 7, oðro 8. 2, micelo 21. 11; -e, alle 1. 65, efne 6. 34, lytle 13. 23; -a, moniga 7. 12, morlonda 1. 65.

jo-stems: -o, clæno 11. 41, wyrðo 23. 41, roeðo 3. 5; -e, gesene 24. 11.

(3) Feminine: -o, oðero 8. 3, monigo 4. 25, miclo 21. 11; -e, alle 19. 37, sume 24. 22.

ja-stem: unberando 23. 29.

VI. Acc. pl.

(1) Masculine. The usual ending is -o; -a and -e occur. -o, halo 23. 35, oðoro 10. 1, soðfæsto 20. 20, monigo 1. 16, syndrio I 9. 11, rehto 3. 4, idlo 1. 53, ungeleaffulo 1. 17, lytlo I 9. 25; -e, soðfæste I 6. 18, alle 2. 41, milttheorte 6. 36; -a, suyndriga I 3. 7, wæsterleasa 11. 24.

(2) Neuter: -o, godo 12. 18, miclo 1. 49, hulco I 9. 3, ðuslico 9. 9, lytlo I 9. 17; -e, alle 1. 3; -a, alla 11. 22, goda I 5. 9, oðera I 11. 4; nedðarfō 11. 8 is a doubtful form.

jo-stem: éco 16. 9.

(3) Feminine: alle 21. 36.

VII. Gen. pl.

(1) Masculine. The regular ending is -ra: deadra 20. 38, soðfæstra 1. 17, monigra 2. 34, allra 1. 71, haligra 9. 26, hæðinra 21. 25 (*gentium*), lytelra I 8. 7, synnfullra 7. 34, ðuslicra 18. 16, ðærflicra I 7. 19 (noun), bærsynnigra I 5. 2, scyldigra I 5. 14; -a occurs in untrymmia I 4. 16, lytla I 8. 7, oðera 5. 29; -o, hædno 21. 25 (used as a noun = *gentium*), monigo 8. 32.

(2) Neuter: godra 19. 8, alra 2. 31, allra 18. 12.

VIII. Dat. pl. The ending is -um.

(1) Masculine: godum 21. 5, deadum 9. 7, yflum 6. 35, allum 1. 75, syndrigum 4. 40, blindum 4. 18, wloneum

I 5. 7, alđum 5. 37, miclum 23. 23, &c. ; -om (-ō) occurs in ođorom 24. 9, ođrom I 2. 14, monigom I 7. 18 ; -o, menigo 12. 47 appears to be used adverbially ; huon 12. 48 is uninflected.

jo-stems : unclænum 4. 36, niuum 5. 38, smoeđum 3. 5, halwoendum I 6. 2 ; <sup>h</sup>nescum 7. 25 is an original u-stem (S. 303, anm. 2).

(2) Neuter : allum 1. 6, lytlum 12. 48 ; -om (-ō), linenom 16. 19.

(3) Feminine : allum 19. 37.

#### The Weak Declension.

##### § 129. I. Nom. sing.

(1) Masculine : ðe bebbisca 18. 37 mg., ðe f'ma 19. 16, ðe ana 5. 21, se alda 5. 39, se stronga 11. 21 ; hoga 12. 42.

(2) Neuter : ðæt f'ma I 8. 11, ðæt niua 5. 37.

(3) Feminine : ðiu æft'ra I 9. 16.

##### II. Acc. sing.

(1) Masculine : ðone æft'ra 6. 1, ðone dumba I 7. 4, ðone ilca 9. 48, huita 6. 15, ilco 20. 44, ðone blinde 6. 39.

(2) Neuter : ilca 20. 33, alde 5. 39, ilce 5. 37.

(3) Feminine : ða æft'ra 12. 38, ða f'ma 14. 8, ilco 18. 5.

##### III. Dat. sing.

(1) Masculine : ðæm æft'ra 9. 37, ðæm wise I 6. 18, ðæm f'mesto 16. 5, ðæm argæ I 8. 18.

(2) Neuter : ðæm alde 5. 36, ðæm niue 5. 36, ðæm ilca 10. 7.

(3) Feminine : ðær ilca 7. 48.

##### IV. Gen. sing.

Neuter : ðæs godspellica I 2. 8.

##### V. Nom. pl.

Masculine : ilca 2. 8, ða forðmesto I 8. 7.

##### VI. Acc. pl.

(1) Masculine : -a, ða unstronga 9. 2, ða f'ma 11. 43 ; -o, ða deado 9. 60, ða oferhygdego 1. 51, ða eadgo I 5. 7, ða synfullo 5. 32, ða f'mo 14. 7, ilco 4. 40.

(2) Neuter: *ða aldo* 5. 37, *ilco* 9. 11, *ilca* 4. 6.

(3) Feminine: *ða ungeleaffullo(co)* I 6. 15.

VII. Dat. pl.

Masculine: *ilco* 9. 5, *ilcum* 2. 18.

#### Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 130. I. Comparative: *eaðor* 5. 23, *giungra* 15. 12, 13, *hera* 22. 26, 27, *stronga* 3. 16, 11. 22, *suiðra* 6. 6, *ðarflicro* 17. 2, *wohfullre* 11. 26, *wyrðro* 14. 8, *ærrum* 11. 26, *æfta* 12. 38; irregular, *f'ma* 19. 16, *betra* 5. 39, *leasa* 7. 28, *mara* 7. 28, *maro* 11. 31, *w<sup>u</sup>yrso* 11. 26. Comparative made by adverb: *betro hogo* 16. 8 (= *prudentiores*).

II. Superlative: *ældesto* 22. 52, *ældestum* 9. 22, *gingesta* 15. 12, *heiste* 1. 32, *heista* 1. 76, *heisto* 1. 35, *heigsta* I 11. 17, *neesta* 10. 36, *wisistum* 11. 45, *wisestum* 11. 46; -ost, *leofost* 3. 22; irregular, *forðmesto* I 8. 7, *hlætmosto* 12. 59, *leassæst* 12. 26, *maasta* 9. 48.

#### CHAPTER XVIII. ADVERBS AND NUMERALS.

##### § 131. Adverbs.

I. Adverbs ending in -e: *eaðe* 12. 58, *ædgeædre* 23. 48, *georne* 1. 3, *longe* 14. 32, *ræðe* 18. 8, *recte* 20. 21, *recone* 4. 39, *swiðe* 9. 29, *symble* 5. 33, *suælce* 18. 11, *fearre* 14. 32, *gere* 18. 24, *huoeðre* 11. 8, *næfre* 15. 29, *huoenne* 17. 20; -a, *ana* 8. 50, *æfre* 13. 11, *sona* 1. 64, *syndria* 9. 10, *hefia* 9. 39, *eaða* 14. 12; -æ, *suælcæ* 11. 44; with the ending dropped, *hefig* 16. 16, *fearr* 15. 13.

II. Adverbs in -lice. Examples: *arlice* 24. 1, *fæstlice* 7. 49, *feerlice* I 4. 18, *geornlice* 7. 4, *hefiglice* 11. 53, *hwoerflice* I 10. 6, *lustlice* I 10. 5, *oefistlice* 8. 33, *rehtlice* 10. 28, *scearplICE* I 9. 4, &c.; with loss of -e, *arlic* I 5. 5, *feerlic* 21. 34, *soðlic* 11. 41.

III. To WS. *giena* corresponds *geane* 8. 49.

IV. Adverbs ending in -unga: *eawunga* I 7. 20, *allunga* 13. 11, *woenunga* 9. 13; with the final -e dropped, *ea-wung* 8. 17.



V. Oblique cases of nouns and adjectives used as adverbs. Examples: lytle I 5. 8, micla 18. 30, micle 18. 39, licsendo (pres. part.) 16. 19, adune 19. 6, aduna 4. 9, huon 5. 3, ned 9. 39, neh 21. 31, soð (thirty-nine times), aec soð 1. 1, fearfald 19. 8, feorsiðum 19. 8, utte-weard 11. 39, on ða wisa 24. 26, on bæc I 6. 14, todæg 2. 11, todæge 5. 26, tomorgen 12. 28, to merne 18. 33, ða huil 5. 34, lytle huile 22. 58, oðer huile 22. 32, oðero ðingo 14. 32, dæghuæm 16. 19; and possibly the oblique case of a pronoun in æc f'ædon 7. 7.

VI. Adverbs originally ending in -an lose their final -n in North. Examples: bef'a 11. 6, huona 1. 18, heona 4. 9, bihianda 7. 38, ufa 24. 49, onufa 11. 44, uta 14. 35, buta 13. 28, siðða 7. 45, fearra 16. 23, norða 13. 29, suða 13. 29, woesta 13. 29.

Exception: eghu<sup>u</sup>onan 19. 43.

The final vowel appears as -e instead of -a in bef'e 1. 75, 10. 21.

VII. Comparison of adverbs.

I. Comparative: ær 2. 26, firr 24. 28, leng 20. 36, 40, lengre 24. 28, maa I 9. 8, mara 11. 13, 12. 24, suiðor 5. 15, ufor 14. 10.

II. Superlative: ærist 9. 59, ærest I 2. 9.

§ 132. Numerals.

I. Cardinals:

1: an 23. 39, ana 5. 21, anes 22. 59, anum 4. 8, enne 15. 4.

2: tuu 10. 17, tuoeg I 8. 15, tuoera I 5. 14, tuæm 9. 16, tuege 3. 11, tuoeg 21. 2, tuoeg I 10. 12, tuoe 2. 24, boege 1. 7, boego 1. 6, baem 7. 42.

3: ðrio 12. 52, ðreana 10. 36, ðrim 4. 25, ðriim 1. 56, ðreo 11. 5.

4: feouer 2. 37.

5: fif 9. 13, fifo 12. 6.

6: sex 4. 25.

7: seofon I 4. 9, seofono 11. 26.

8: æhto I 8. 2, æhtou 13. 4.

9: nigona 17. 17, nigone 15. 7.

10: tea 17. 12, tene I 8. 2, teum 14. 31.

11: ællefno 24. 33, ællefnum 24. 9.

12: tuoelf 2. 42, tuoelfō (= -om) I 6. 12.

20-90: tuoentigum 14. 31, ʒrittig I 4. 8, ʒrittih 3. 23, feortig I 4. 10, feortih 4. 2, fiftih 16. 6, fiteih 7. 41, sex-deih 24. 13, hundseofontig I 2. 4, unseofontigum I 6. 14, hundhæhtatih 2. 37, hundneantig 15. 7, hundneontig 15. 4, nigona hundneontig 15. 4.

100: hundrað 15. 4, hundteantig 8. 8, hundteantih 16. 6, hundtean (= -teantih) 16. 7.

500: fif hund 7. 41.

1000: ʒusendo 9. 14, ʒusendum 14. 31.

5000: fif ʒusendo.

## II. Ordinals.

1: f'ma 19. 16, f'mo 20. 46, forðmesto I 8. 7, f'west 19. 2.

2: æft'ra 12. 38.

3: ʒirdda 24. 46, ʒirde 13. 32, ʒirddan 9. 22, 18. 33.

6: seista 1. 26.

8: æhtaðe 1. 59.

9: nioða I 10. 11, non 23. 44 (copied apparently from the Latin *nonus*).

15: fiteiðe 3. 1, fiteiðo I 4. 6.

100: hunteanteiḡ (= -e) I 10. 11.

## III. Other numerals.

Numeral adverbs: tuigo 18. 12, ʒriga 22. 61, ʒria 22. 34, seofa siða 17. 4 (in I 7. 11 this strangely glosses *sexies*); seofofullice I 7. 6.

Distributives: anlapum 4. 40 (= *singulis*), fif huñd 9. 14 (= *quinguenos*).

Multiplicatives: ʒrifald I 4. 11, feorsiðum 19. 8, fearfald 19. 8, monigfald 6. 17.

Note.—Owing to the completeness with which the pronouns are classified in Cook's Glossary, it seems unnecessary to repeat them here.

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